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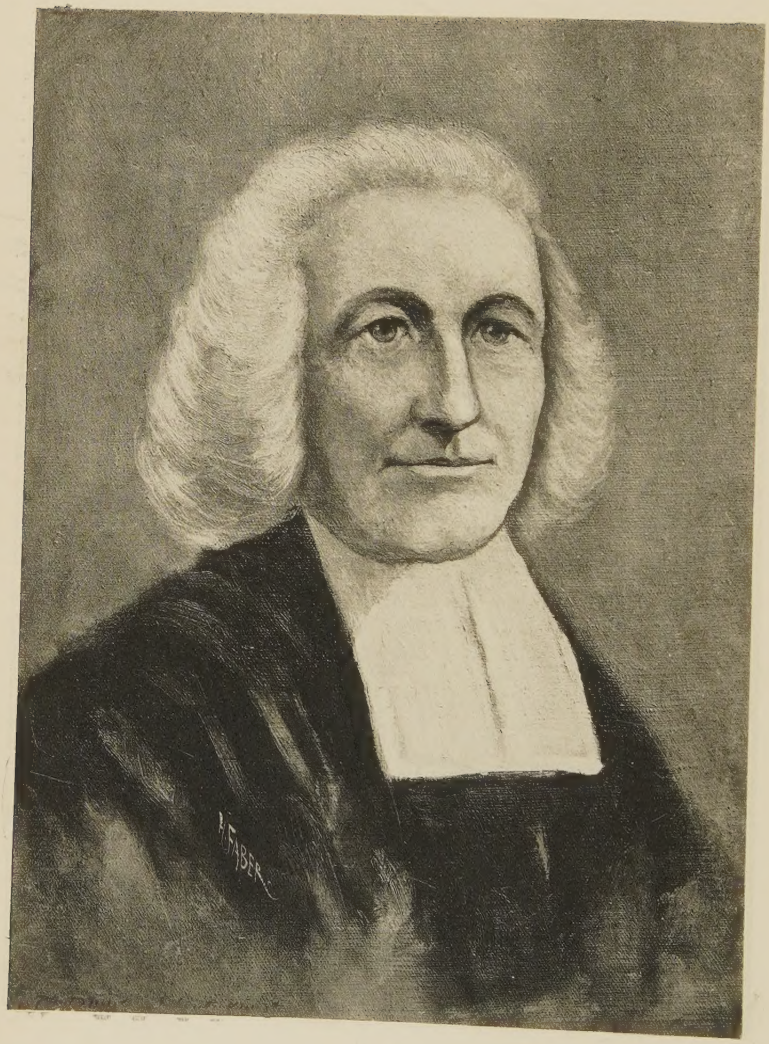
H. FABER

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG.

BY

WILLIAM J. MANN, D. D.,

PASTOR EMERITUS OF ST. MICHAEL AND ZION CONGREGATION, AND PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH AT PHILADELPHIA.

"Ecclesia non plantata, sed plantanda."

PHILADELPHIA:

G. W. FREDERICK,

117 N. SIXTH STREET.

1887.

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PREFACE.

One hundred years have passed since, on the 7th of October, 1787, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, D. D., departed this life.

J. Chr. Kunze, D. D., in a note found in the pamphlet containing his sermon preached in the Evangelical Lutheran church of the Holy Trinity at New York on the occasion of Mühlenberg's death, says: "A biography of this eminent man shall and must be given to the public. Years ago I read with pleasure a composition from his pen which will serve excellently as a basis of a biography, but will not satisfy the just expectations of those who know properly to estimate his merits. His rare humility there hides the most interesting circumstances, to which many witnesses still can testify. There are many important confidential communications from him in my possession. Almost every one of my brethren in the sacred office in these States is in possession of such communications. One of his sons, or whosoever it might be, would also do a good service to the friends of God's kingdom on earth by weaving all such communications into a somewhat extended biography or by simply publishing selections from them. I say this with the view of encouraging the possessors of such relics to take good care of them and diligently to collect them."

We may be thankful that not only within the circle of the descendants of the venerable ancestor many of his letters and

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other documents, and especially his carefully-written diaries, were conscientiously preserved and guarded, but that also in the archives of the Orphan-House at Halle in Germany, from which he came forth a missionary among the dispersed and spiritually destitute German Lutherans in Pennsylvania, and with which he kept up correspondence throughout his life, large portions of his diaries, many reports, and letters were deposited and carefully preserved. This latter part of Mühlenberg's literary legacy became within recent times accessible to us through the praiseworthy efforts of Rev. Dr. William Germann, ecclesiastical counsellor and superintendent of the diocese of Wasungen, Sachsen-Meiningen. Access to the diaries, correspondence, reports, and other documents first mentioned was kindly permitted me by the late H. H. Muhlenberg, M. D., of Reading, Pa., and by the Rev. F. A. Muhlenberg, D. D., professor in the University of Pennsylvania. The confidence they bestowed upon me was of the highest value, and is herewith gratefully acknowledged.

These extensive documents and much valuable material bearing upon the life and labors of Mühlenberg on the numerous pages of the *Halle Reports* were, in connection with other historical publications, the main sources at my command. Not the least of these sources were the results of the painstaking investigations of the Rev. B. M. Schmucker, D. D., pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran church of the Transfiguration at Pottstown, Pa., which are included in the new edition of the *Halle Reports*, vol. i., published by Brobst, Diehl & Co. at Allentown, Pa., 1886. To him my thanks are due for having introduced me to the study of the history of the Lutheran Church in America, and for having proved to me a trustworthy and most desirable colaborer in this branch of literary research. In the first volume of the new edition of the *Halle*

Reports the united labors of Dr. Germann, Dr. Schmucker, and myself gathered a large amount of information on the general and local history of the Lutheran Church in this country, from its very beginning down to the present time. Therein we adhered to the German language, in which the *Halle Reports* originally were published. The chilling indifference shown toward our altogether unselfish labors by an appallingly large number of the German Lutheran clergy and laity, who in their public worship, and even in their families, habitually use the German language, and in whose behalf we had devoted years of assiduous labor and the publishers an outlay of thousands of dollars, moved me to make use of the English language in the work now offered to the public.

From Mühlenberg's own hand we have at least part of an autobiography extending from his youth to the year 1743, the commencement of his pastoral and missionary labors in Pennsylvania. It is given to the public by the Rev. W. Germann, D. D. (Allentown, Brobst, Diehl & Co., 1881). Other portions of Mühlenberg's life were published from his diaries —for instance, his visit to Ebenezer, Ga., 1774–75, in the *Gettysburg Evangelical Review*, vols. i.–iv. An abridged biography, containing the most important events of his life and giving a portraiture of his religious character, from the pen of the late Prof. M. L. Stoever of Pennsylvania College, appeared in 1856, and has again and again been reprinted.

Henry Melchior Mühlenberg needs no biographer to keep him in most revered and loving remembrance in the Lutheran Church of this country. His name is so closely connected with the very genesis of the Lutheran Church here, with the first attempts at its organization, and with the first and successful missionary labors among the many dispersed German Lutherans from Maryland to the shores of the Upper Hudson,

and, in fact, far beyond these limits, that it cannot fall into oblivion. Indeed, while the large numbers of Lutherans in our country are divided on various questions and segregated into divers representative bodies, the name of Mühlenberg is honored among the membership of the General Synod, in the circles of the General Council, in the United Synod of the South, and indeed in every Lutheran community.

Yet it cannot be denied that, though his name is familiar throughout the Church, yet about the actual course of his intensely interesting life and labors, and about the conditions under which he had to exhibit his eminent talent and the wonderful energy of his character, proportionally very little is known. During my researches concerning the early history of Lutheranism in this country my interest in him as a man, a Christian, a representative of the Church, a missionary to the dispersed Lutherans, and an organizer of Lutheran congregations, a spiritual father to many souls, a most judicious counsellor of his colaborers, could but increase. I feel myself perfectly justified in saying that what I here offer to the public was to me a work of love, and has an interest not only for the numerous and honored descendants of the noble ancestor, but for the historian of our country, for all who relish historical reading and information, and most directly for those who are engaged in pastoral work and mission enterprises in the home-field.

In a certain sense it is true that the life of Mühlenberg and the history of the Lutheran Church of those times are identical. My book does not, however, pretend to supply a Church history of that period, and therefore does not answer many collateral questions, while it will throw some light upon that eventful epoch. Neither will it in any way supplant works on the early history of the Lutheran Church of this country,

like the meritorious book on this subject by the Rev. C. W. Schaeffer, D. D., Senior of the Faculty of the Theological Seminary of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, or any similar books. My main intent was to give a portraiture of the personality of Mühlenberg and a truthful story of his life and labors, framed in a sufficiently comprehensive delineation of the times in which he lived and the personal and social elements with which he was brought into contact. On the centennial of his death I devote this book to his memory, and lay it on his grave as an olive-branch offered to the discordant elements in the Church which was his spiritual home and the object of his faithful labors.

In the preparation of this book I was most kindly assisted by the Rev. Prof. F. A. Muhlenberg, D. D., and the Rev. H. E. Jacobs, D. D., my beloved colleague in the Faculty of the Theological Seminary. To these brethren, and to others who variously encouraged me and speeded my way, my hearty thanks are herewith publicly given.

Of the imperfections of my work I am fully conscious. If what I here offer should awaken a new interest in the venerable patriarch, and in the times in which, through his indefatigable labors, the Lutheran Church in this country began to be an organized body furnished with instrumentalities needful for her conservation and progress, I shall consider myself amply rewarded for my labors. If those who now, in the service of the Lutheran Church, have to fight the battles of the Lord should be encouraged and stimulated by the noble example of H. M. Mühlenberg as a missionary and as a pastor, I would consider it the most signal blessing that Divine Grace might bestow upon this book.

W. J. MANN.

PHILADELPHIA, Easter, 1887.

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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG.

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1711–1738.

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ON the 6th of Sept., 1711, HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG was born at Eimbeck, a town of Hanover, then one of the electoral principalities of Germany, now a province of Prussia and the re-established German Empire.

The history of Eimbeck (or Einbeck) leads us back into the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. It seems that two ecclesiastical institutions founded there formed the nucleus around which in the course of time the town grew up. It numbered, in times before the Reformation of the sixteenth century, twelve thousand inhabitants, and was connected with the great commercial confederation called *Hansa*. Though strongly fortified, it was taken during the Thirty Years' War, after a second siege, by the Roman Catholic armies. In 1718 the traces of the terrible devastation were still plainly visible, when King George I. of England, as electoral prince of Hanover, by orders from London, took decisive measures to restore and beautify the town. Eimbeck is now, though the number of its inhabitants has been reduced to

about seven thousand, a place of considerable industrial activity. In mediæval times, and still later, one article was there manufactured which carried the name of the town through the German Empire and far beyond its limits. This article was *beer*, and it appears even in the history of Martin Luther. When he, then a mere monk, on Thursday evening, Apr. 18, 1521, came out of the fiery ordeal at Worms before the emperor Charles V. and other potentates, the high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and all the Diet—most of the members of which had taken an inimical position against him—and had passed through the dense crowd curious to see him, the Spaniards present in the assembly hissed at him; but many Germans, though at that time not siding with him, could not but admire the heroism of the man, and one of them, Duke Erich of Brunswick, himself closely allied to the papal party, offered him a silver goblet full of Eimbeck beer. It is related that Luther, when he heard who the kind donor was, said, "As Duke Erich remembered me, so may our Lord Christ remember him in his last agony!" But their beer did not prevent the citizens of the town from placing the proper estimate upon another article of immensely higher value when, in the providence of God, it was offered to them. Eimbeck was among those communities which soon embraced the cause of the Reformation. As early as 1528 adherents of the new doctrine were members of the town council, and in the same year the first Lutheran pastor was called to serve in the "Market Church." His name was Conrad Bolen. Eimbeck manifested its firm adherence to the Lutheran doctrines by subscribing, through its official representatives, to the Formula of Concord of 1580. Whilst the history of the town offers many points of interest, and some of the ancient church-buildings still testify to the opulence and the artistic taste of its inhabitants in bygone ages, the town as such has, in consequence of a number of disastrous conflagrations, rather a modern, uninteresting appearance. A very destructive fire took place in 1826, and consumed, among others, the house which had belonged to the Mühlenberg family and witnessed the birth of Hen

Melchior. The environs of the town present no romantic beauty: neighboring hills prevent the view of the bolder Harz Mountains toward the south. The whole region, however, is fertile and well cultivated.

In harmony with time-honored custom, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg was baptized on the day of his birth. His father, Nicolaus Melchior, a citizen and tradesman of Eimbeck, in the church-register is called a brewer—which simply means that he enjoyed the prerogative of a privileged class, but never made use of it—and is also introduced to us as a deacon in the church to which the family belonged. There is no doubt that a brother of Henry Melchior was in baptism given the name John Arndt, which may well be taken as evidence that John Arndt, the godly author of the renowned work *True Christianity*, stood high in the estimation of father N. M. Mühlenberg. We know that a number of other children were born to him, the first one of whom may have been Ilse Mary, who is entered in the church-register as having seen the light of this world on Sept. 11, 1700. But not even the name of the mother is there given. The church-registers, which antecedent to 1700 are very defective at Eimbeck, give us no clue to the earlier history of the family. There is a tradition that the Mühlenbergs had immigrated to Eimbeck from Bohemia. If this be so, we are not risking too much in supposing that they belonged to the thousands who, on account of their fidelity to evangelical principles, suffered persecution in that country. The name of the partner for life of Nicolaus Melchior Mühlenberg was Anna Mary Kleinschmid. Her father was an officer in military service. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg saw his mother the last time when, in 1742, on his way to America, he took farewell of his relatives at Eimbeck. She died in 1747: her husband had, through an attack of palsy, been suddenly taken away from her soon after the confirmation of her son Henry Melchior in 1723. It is stated that the name Mühlenberg is now not unfrequently found in neighboring towns and villages. In Eimbeck we do not now meet with it. Yet descendants of the female side

appear to be now living there, and a garden belonging to them was shown to a friend of ours visiting the town.

Genealogical and heraldic works on the ancient noble families of Germany state that the Von Mühlenbergs were recognized in times before the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) as among the old baronial families of the empire; that they derive their origin from Ziracka, a prince of the Wendish and Sorbic tribes; that about the year 950 A. D. he was converted to Christianity; that he had his residence near the present Mühlberg, on the right hand of the Elbe River in the Merseburg district of Prussian Saxony. In the neighborhood of this town, Mühlberg, the electoral prince John Frederick, after an unfortunate battle, fell April 24, 1547, into the hands of the emperor Charles V. Mills (*Mühlen* in German) erected in that locality gave name to the town, and subsequently also to the family reigning there, which increased, and in the course of time acquired large possessions in Saxony, Austrian Silesia, and other parts. In the escutcheon of the family were two wheels, and the members of it signed themselves "of the Mühlenberg." The ancestral prince was, as a vassal of the bishop of Naumburg, received into the nobility of Germany. His son Bonifacius, apparelled in a coat of mail, accompanied Emperor Otto (unfortunately, our sources leave us in doubt as to which of the three Ottos) on an expedition to Italy, and was rewarded for his services with valuable privileges. Various members of the family made themselves eminent in war and peace, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century the family is still counted among the prominent and wealthy nobility. But during the wars of the sixteenth century, and especially the Thirty Years' War, some of its branches died out, and others were, like many noble families, greatly reduced in circumstances. After the middle of the seventeenth century the name is no longer found on the roll of the nobles of the empire, and the family never made any attempt to have their title acknowledged and restored by the imperial court of heraldry at Vienna.

From his seventh to his twelfth year H. M. Mühlenberg

was sent by his father to the larger one of the two classical schools at that time existing at Eimbeck. Here, going through the three lowest classes, he laid the foundation of his knowledge of the Latin language, in which he many years later addressed at various synodical meetings the clergy over whom he was made the presiding officer. In his twelfth year he was, by the rite of confirmation, received into membership of the Lutheran Church. We have some relics in writing from the hand of the youth, which not only indicate his child-like faith, but also a certain independence of religious thought and a ready facility in expressing his devotional sentiments in the form of poetry. There is preserved a family Bible, large folio, printed in 1719. In it, which tradition views as once the property of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, was found a marriage contract signed both by other witnesses and also by him. On the first and last blank leaf of that Bible we find short rhymes, apparently written by his hand. Of course the youthful poet never thought that any of these verses would ever see the light so as to become public. But we think it quite proper to lay before our readers at least one specimen of them in translation. Referring to the narrative about the man whose withered hand Jesus healed (Matt. xii. 10–13), we find the following couplets, which are indeed much more than rhymes:

"Two hands, both fresh and strong, did my Creator give:
They shall not idle be as long as I may live;
First I will raise them up to God to praise and pray,
And then they may begin what labor brings each day;
In truth, I'll never forget the *Ora*,
And with it, hand-in-hand, I'll practise the *Labora!*"

Certainly, this is satisfactory evidence that the youth intelligently appropriated and applied the Word of God as he read it or was instructed in it. When writing in later years his autobiography, he severely criticises the ways of thinking and acting in his boyhood, and the evil influences of some of his schoolmates. We can admire the moral sensitiveness of the ripe

Christian character of the man, and wish that all youths would share in that appreciation of the divine truth and in that respect for it which we trace in him.

It seems that H. M. Mühlenberg had neither the inclination nor the time to spend the years of youth in "sowing wild oats" or in dreamy sentimentalism. The course of school education was short enough. After the death of the father—on which sad occasion the son received, as he tells us, the first deep religious impressions and was most seriously affected—we find him up to his eighteenth year engaged in assisting one of his brothers in his trade. His natural instincts, however, could not be thwarted, and hence the longing for knowledge and a higher education was irrepressible. The family tradition will have it that he clandestinely devoted every free moment to his books, and that in a barn he made his first homiletical attempts by preaching to the bare walls. Did not St. Franciscus of Assisi preach to the fish in the sea? However that may be, the result was that after some time H. M. Mühlenberg was permitted to devote his evening hours to study; that the superintendent of the highest classical school —*schola senatoria*—of the town, His Worthiness Herr Rector John Joachim Schüsster, taking an interest in the young and ardent Henry, began to give him private instruction, and finally admitted him to the public school, and then into the highest class, to the great chagrin of the mischievous urchins, who were quite disinclined to tolerate one in all respects so much above them. Nor was this all: Henry made rapid progress in arithmetic, Latin, Greek, and other branches, and in addition to all this he managed to cultivate music, which, according to the high authority of Martin Luther, comes next to theology, and proved quite a master not only in singing—his beautiful tenor voice often gained him favors from those of high station in society more valuable than mere admiration—but he became also a skilful performer on the clavichord and the organ. We shall hereafter discover that this musical accomplishment of H. M. Mühlenberg was conducive in bringing about at a later period of his life a harmony of a totally

different character, and at all times proved to him a most valuable assistance in his pastoral work.

From the spring of 1733 to the autumn of the following year we find H. M. Mühlenberg continuing his studies at the classical school of Zellerfeld, situated east of Eimbeck on one of the high plateaus stretching forth from the Harz Mountains. That school enjoyed at that time a very high reputation. Under the guidance of Rector Raphel, A. M., who gave to the zealous student of Eimbeck much active sympathy, he made considerable progress in mastering the more difficult Roman authors and the Greek style of the New Testament. He found here occasion not only to extend his attainments in music and other branches of education, but also to instruct a class of about eighteen children; which employment enlarged his experience and qualified him in a direction so important in the pastoral office. He likewise began the study of Hebrew and of French, making very good use of time and opportunities, though, in complaining in his autobiography of certain dangerous impressions made upon him in the social circles to which he was there introduced, he censures himself severely.

On March 19, 1735, we find our friend on the road to the University of Göttingen, established in that year. He was consequently one of the first students of that Alma Mater, and one of whom she still may be proud. During the preceding winter he had diligently continued his studies at Eimbeck. It seems to have been generally understood among the relatives and friends that Henry was intended for a learned profession, and that a thorough education would best qualify him for the mission of his life. His mother was willing with a loving heart to do her share and to assist the student son to the best of her ability. And, more than this, Providence directed the hearts of the members of the council of Eimbeck in such a manner that they gave our aspiring friend the use of a stipend under their control which at least for a year offered to him free board at Göttingen. This appears also an incontrovertible argument to us that they entertained of their favor-

ite an opinion much better than, when writing in later years, he in his humility thought himself entitled to.

German university- and student-life is, even in our times, to some extent an anomalous social phenomenon. It is a practical anachronism. The freedom in various respects enjoyed by the sons of those *Almæ Matres* reminds us of a republic in the midst of a monarchy, and those sons make even now not unfrequently a rather dangerous and objectionable use of their mothers' indulgence. But in those times, when H. M. Mühlenberg was matriculated as a *civis academicus* at Göttingen, German universities, though truly centres of learning—*universitates literarum*—were in a moral aspect, as to the life and manners of many or most of the students, not garden-spots in the desert, but a howling wilderness in the midst of cultivated lands. There the unrestrained young animal spirits broke out in the rudest and crudest manners and barbarous freaks. Mühlenberg narrates that after his arrival at Göttingen some wild fellows had in a nightly brawl killed a watchman. Students not joining with the brutal companionship were often exposed to the ridicule and contemptuous treatment of the rougher classes by a terrorism which the civil authorities did not properly oppose. Under these circumstances many a youth was misled. From such an effect Mühlenberg was protected, not only to some extent by his riper years, but much more by the better Christian moral principles implanted in his heart. And, providentially, he formed a friendship with young men, also fellow-students, three of them, like himself, natives of Eimbeck, who were of a decidedly religious turn of mind, and exercised a most salutary influence upon their new associate. Through them Mühlenberg came the first time in contact with that spirit and that form of piety which, having originally been represented by the learned theologian Phil. Jac. Spener, had made manifest its decidedly practical character through Hermann August Francke of Halle in the founding of the celebrated Orphan-House and the literary and educational institutions connected with it, in his efforts to advance God's kingdom on earth by

means of missions in foreign lands, by spreading the Bible among the masses of the people, and by other instrumentalities. These great institutions at Halle were most important elements in the education of hundreds of young men who visited the university of the same place, founded A. D. 1674 by King Frederick I., grandfather of Frederick the Great, and had there a most excellent opportunity to prepare themselves at the same time for the practical work of the Church.

A number of circumstances combined to confirm Mühlenberg in the religious turn his mind had taken. He refers in this connection to the influences which the lectures of his teachers, especially on dogmatics, ethics, and homiletics, exercised upon him. Certainly, schools of theology ought to be not simply schools of scholastic instruction, but should shape as much as possible the minds of the students and properly form their characters for the sacred office which is in prospect for them. Of course the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire is the indispensable prerequisite for a preacher of the gospel. A theologian, ever so learned, without the touch of the prophetic spirit will not fulfil his mission. Of this Mühlenberg seems to have been fully convinced as a student. He considered it a special and most favorable dispensation of Providence that the Rev. Prof. Oporin, D. D. (a learned man of this name had in the sixteenth century been professor of theology at the Basel University), took him into his house, made him his private secretary, and gave him free board and a room for his own use. Certainly, this is ample proof of the esteem in which the professor held his student and of the confidence he placed in him. Dr. Oporin is the author of a work on homiletics —viz. *Ancient and Only Rule for a Convincing and Effective Manner of Preaching*, 2 parts, 1736–37. He there opposes the dangerous influences of the Wolfian philosophy upon preaching, which under utilitarian pretexts led to rationalism. Oporin died in 1753. His memory was for ever endeared to Mühlenberg, who greatly profited by his daily intercourse with such an excellent teacher and friend, and as a member of his household derived various social advantages. He remembered

sayings of Oporin even after the lapse of many years; of this we have an instance in the *Halle Reports*, p. 787, 1st edit. Even in his diary of 1779, under March 2d, he introduces, not without a quaint humor, Oporin's peculiar manner of criticising sermons composed by students of the classes before him. He there says: "Dr. Oporin was accustomed first to pay attention to what *physics* or *moralities* deserved some praise: when by this bland treatment self-love felt itself flattered, the old Adam, like a cat, would raise up his tail well pleased; but all at once things took a sudden turn and the critical eye would eat away the proud flesh, without moving any one to anger, since the preceding encomium had operated as *captatio benevolentiæ*."

It was a fortunate circumstance that Mühlenberg's residence with one of his professors not only removed the young student from intimate intercourse with students of lower tendencies, but afforded him the opportunity to be introduced to persons of higher standing. Among these he mentions Herr von Münchhausen, high sheriff of Hanover, who granted to his young protégé certain benefices which went far to secure to him a three years' course at the university, and the count of Wernigerode, who permitted him to be present in his apartments at the hours when devotional exercises from time to time were held there. Intercourse with persons of high social standing and refined tastes is calculated to teach polite manners, which often prove to young people a substantial advantage in their intercourse with others.

In the year 1736, Mühlenberg, conjointly with two other students of theology, rented a room and began to instruct poor ignorant, neglected children in spelling, reading, writing, and the Catechism, the teachers deriving no pecuniary advantage from their labors.* Yet some members of the Göttingen

* Rev. J. Chr. Kunze, D. D., says in his sermon, preached after the death of H. M. Mühlenberg, his father-in-law, in New York on the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1787: "When the illustrious prince, at that time Count Henry XI. Reuss, still living, as a student sojourned at Göttingen, moved by his godly tutor, afterward Chancellor Riesenbeck, he established a school in behalf of poor, neglected, begging children, and, endeavoring to find as instructor for them a truly converted student, selected our late senior." This was H. M. Mühlenberg.

clergy, with some of the public school-teachers, lodged complaint against this charitable enterprise as a new movement fraught with dangers. But one of the representatives of the aristocracy favoring Mühlenberg with their confidence, the Count Reuss, took up the good cause, gave it into the hands of his legal adviser, Dr. Riesenbeck, and thus it came to pass that the government indorsed the course of the students and placed their charity school under the supervision of the theological faculty. The consequence was that attention was attracted to the school, contributions were cheerfully given, the work proceeded, and the students were benefited by the opportunity of exercising the art of teaching and catechising. Out of this small enterprise grew in the course of time the Göttingen Orphan-House, still existing under the supervision of the theological faculty. It offered at various times shelter to no less than one hundred and twenty children. Even now the students of theology exercise themselves there in preaching and catechising. It appears that a Mr. Borries, a citizen of Mühlenberg's native town, Eimbeck, furnished the means and took the first steps to transform the charity school begun by Mühlenberg and his colaborers into an orphan-house. We also know that Dr. Oporin, as dean of the faculty, published some of the yearly reports of the institution, in one of which (of 1750) he honorably mentions the liberal gifts of Counsellor von Borries and, after his death, of the family.

In the year 1737, Mühlenberg had advanced so far that he was enrolled among those students who from time to time had to preach in the University church, and also to catechise there, for which purpose the children of the charity school were required to appear once a week. It was certainly gratifying to the young aspirant for the sacred office, and calculated to stimulate him to his best efforts, that Count Reuss invited him to lecture in his aristocratic mansion at stated times on theological and religious topics. It is a fact well deserving notice that a very considerable number of the first aristocratic families of Germany—among them the princes of Wernigerode, Counts Stolberg, Reuss, Isenburg, Solms,

Dohna, Saalfeld, Henkel—were at that time in sincere sympathy with the religious movement to which Phil. Jacob Spener had given the most energetic impetus, and assisted all the charitable enterprises proceeding from it in the most liberal manner. They also took pleasure in favoring and assisting young men of the character of H. M. Mühlenberg. When, in the spring of 1738, after attending finally to a special course of lectures on the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, he had graduated, the Counts Reuss of Koestritz and Henkel of Poeltzig—two places then held in high esteem in the Pietistic circles of Germany—entertained the idea of placing the young candidate for the ministerial office in a pastoral charge, but resolved, after due deliberation, that he should enter the Orphan-House and charitable institutions connected with it at Halle as a teacher—a resolution which, under Divine Providence, decided the future course and the mission of his life.

Leaving Göttingen, he spent some time at the University of Jena, visited, by special invitation of Count Reuss, Koestritz; proceeded to Halle, left again on account of his private affairs for Eimbeck; visited Wernigerode, where by invitation he was present at a pastoral conference; Hanover and other places, at which he met friends whose sympathy, experience, and advice were of value to him; and at Eimbeck preached on several occasions and had private conversations on spiritual matters with various individuals. Then, having taken an affectionate farewell at Göttingen of his patrons and friends in high and low positions, he entered upon his duties at Halle, and as a teacher went through the usual routine there established. For a few weeks he was put on probation as a teacher of the smallest children; then he was advanced to have charge of higher classes, superintended eight boys in their room; and in the management of this small flock entrusted to his care as teacher gained new experience and new lessons in practical Christianity. After going through this course, it was made his duty in the higher classes of those extensive institutions to give instruction in Greek, Hebrew, and in some theological

branches, and he was appointed "inspector" of a ward of the sick, which office brought him into close connection with Prof. Junker, M. D., and with his subordinates, and gave him opportunity to acquire some knowledge of the medical art, which he had ample occasion to make good use of in the future years of his life.

CHAPTER II.

1739–1742.

Selected as a missionary for East India.—Frustration of this plan.—G. A. Francke, D. D.—Christian work at Halle.—Herr von Canstein and the first Bible society.—Fr. M. Ziegenhagen, D. D.—Call to Grosshennersdorf.—Baroness Gersdorf.—Acceptance of the call.—Examination and ordination at Leipsic.—Enters upon his duties at Grosshennersdorf.—Orphan-House and other charitable institutions there.—The Bohemian colony.—Embarrassing circumstances.—Visit to Eimbeck and Halle.—Call to the dispersed Lutherans in Pennsylvania.—Return to Grosshennersdorf.—Apology for private conventicles.—Balthasar Mentzer, D. D.—Departure from Grosshennersdorf.—Journey to Halle.

HAVING labored for a year at Halle, Mühlenberg received pressing invitations to return to Göttingen and to take charge of the charity school formerly conducted there by him and two fellow-students, which had already assumed larger proportions. But a warm friend and well-wisher, Councillor Cellarius, who occupied rooms in the Orphan-House, opposed this plan, confidentially informing him that the directors of the institution, the Right Reverend Fathers, as Mühlenberg is wont to speak of them, intended to send him as a missionary to East India. Among those worthy men Gotthilf August Francke, the son of August Hermann Francke, the celebrated founder of the charitable institutions at Halle, and a typical representative of Pietism in its first and purer form, deserves special mention, since he greatly influenced the turn which H. M. Mühlenberg's life took, and kept up correspondence with him until the end of his useful career, Sept. 2, 1769. Not only at the head of the institutions founded by his father, but also as professor of theology in the Halle University, he exercised a great influence upon the minds of a large number of candidates for the sacred office

by giving them solid information and by pointing out to them, by his example no less than by his teaching, the value of personal and practical piety. In this good work he was assisted by colleagues in the professorial office and in the management of the institutions, and by a number of pastors in Halle. They were men moved by a holy zeal: while they in their time were very averse to any interference with the landmarks of the Lutheran Church and creed, to which their convictions bound them, they united with those conservative principles a deep interest in the personal appropriation of saving truth and in the practical questions of Christianity, which in former times had not often found among theologians the serious attention they deserved. They made Halle a centre for the cause of the orphan, for elementary and for higher education on truly Christian principles, for missions, and for the spreading of the Bible among the masses of the people. In fact, the first Bible society, growing out of a small beginning of Herr von Canstein, a pious nobleman, was a part of the Halle institutions, and still exists there. The cause of missions brought them into sympathy and correspondence with godly men in various countries. Among them we have to mention the name of one often appearing in the sequel of our narrative, the Rev. Fred. Mich. Ziegenhagen, D. D., German court-preacher at London, who there became a fatherly friend and adviser to many missionaries coming from Halle. He died at London, Jan. 24, 1776, in the eighty-third year of his most useful and exemplary career.

Mühlenberg had in May, 1738, paid his first visit to Halle. We know that soon afterward he began his duties as a regularly installed teacher in the Francke institutions. Those schools contained in the times of Mühlenberg no less than between two and three thousand scholars. Classics were represented as well as the usual branches of elementary education. The design of sending Mühlenberg as a missionary to East India was indeed entertained at Halle. Missionaries had gone thence to preach Christ and Him crucified to the heathen at Malabar. A. H. Francke's advice guided King

Frederick IV. of Denmark in his attempts to find the proper workmen for that field of labor. Ziegenbalg and Plütschau—names endeared to every friend of evangelical missions—had for a time been sojourning at Halle before they started in 1706 for the distant land in the sunny South. Christ. Fred. Schwartz, of all German missionaries of the last century in East India the most successful, had for a time been a teacher in the Orphan-House, and had received instruction in Halle in the Tamil language from missionary Schulze, who had returned to Halle from Malabar, where he had built on the foundation laid by Ziegenbalg. The leading men at Halle were heartily interested in the cause of missions, and knew from experience what kind of men that field of labor required. That they directed their attention now to H. M. Mühlenberg proves that they thought him well qualified for that kind of work. They had intended to make use of him in a new field in Bengal. Outward circumstances prevented the execution of the plan. Meanwhile, in the month of July, 1739, a pressing call arrived from Count Reuss that Mühlenberg should at once enter upon a pastoral charge at Grosshennersdorf in Upper Lusatia. Mühlenberg was, however, troubled with doubts concerning this appointment. It seems that at first he refused to acquiesce in the call. But as it was urgently repeated, and Dr. Francke and other friends insisted upon his accepting it, various obstacles being in the way of his entering upon the missionary work in East India, he resolved for the present to proceed to Upper Lusatia and become well acquainted with this field of labor, in every respect new to him. Thus the will of Providence decided his future career. Two weeks after he had left Halle, quite unexpectedly letters arrived from Denmark and from England requiring that without any delay two proper men should be selected for the Danish and for the English missions. Mühlenberg was already out of the question.

Grosshennersdorf, the birthplace of the well-known theologian and exegete Leopold Eman. Rückert, D. D., born 1797, who died as professor in the University of Jena 1871,

and had been (1819–25) in his native place one of the successors of Mühlenberg in the pastoral office, is situated in the eastern part of the present kingdom of Saxony, not far from the Bohemian boundary and only a few miles south of Herrnhut, the central seat of Moravianism and the head-quarters of Count Zinzendorf. Thus the two men who a few years later came into conflict with each other in Philadelphia were for a time near neighbors. We know that Mühlenberg once in travelling passed through Herrnhut. The Baroness von Gersdorf, the sister of Zinzendorf's mother, who had at Grosshennersdorf the right of nominating the two pastors in charge there, was a relative of the noble family Reuss; which connection explains why the preliminary call had come to Mühlenberg through Count Reuss. Baroness Gersdorf, in whose house Zinzendorf had sojourned during a few years of his childhood, belonged to the school of Spener, as did also Zinzendorf before he struck out on a path of his own selection. She wished to become acquainted with Mühlenberg, so as to be able to act advisedly in taking such a responsible step. Two weeks after having been introduced to her he was requested to preach in the town. The result was that on Aug. 12, 1739, a formal call was given to him. On that occasion Abt Steinmetz, a man of godly character and high esteem in pious circles of Germany, superintendent of the classical school at Klosterbergen near Magdeburg—the place from which in 1580 the Formula of Concord emanated—was present and encouraged Mühlenberg to accept of this call.

Having, after a prayerful consideration, arrived at the conclusion that he should enter upon a field of labor where he certainly was not an intruder, he accepted the call. Proceeding to Leipsic, the University of Saxony, under the sovereignty of which also Grosshennersdorf stood, he was there examined by the consistory of the church of the electoral principality in the exegesis of the Old Testament, in the dogmas of Christ, regeneration, justification, conversion; also concerning the history of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church. Having given satisfactory evidence of his ability and attainments, he

was a few days later solemnly ordained in the presence of the whole ministerium of the city of Leipsic by the Right Rev. Superintendent Deyling, D. D., and in consequence thereof fully entitled to enter upon the pastoral office to which he had been called.* We see in this happy issue a convincing proof that Mühlenberg, who entered upon a course of study in classics and theology somewhat late in life, and under greater difficulties than many other candidates of the pastoral office, had made a very conscientious use of the time and of the means allotted to him, and had given all his energies to his studies, well knowing that the sacred office needs no less than any other responsible position in life a proper preparation. He never trifled with a duty. To this his whole life bears ample testimony. But, viewing the prospects now before him and the responsibilities awaiting him, he takes occasion humbly to confess that at that moment he appeared to himself, after four years' experience in a true spiritual life, as a mere child, and could hardly realize the fact that he had been ordained a minister of Christ and called to a pastoral charge. There is an admonition in this to all who are not fully conscious of the responsibilities they incur in entering the sacred office.

On his way through Halle from Leipsic, Mühlenberg learned that soon after his departure from that place the demand for three missionaries had come, and that the appointments had already been made. He felt convinced that it was not God's will that he should serve his cause in East India.

Leaving Halle, he directed his steps to Hanover, the province in which he was born, paid visits to a number of friends whose intercourse spiritually benefited him, and returned through Brandenburg and Saxony to Grosshennersdorf.

This town was and still is in various respects of no particular significance. It has now about fifteen hundred inhabitants, and no great commercial or industrial establishments. The old aristocratic mansion is the only building of any architectural pretension. In Mühlenberg's time two pastors took care of

* The certificate of ordination still exists, and is in possession of Rev. F. A. Muhlenberg, D. D., professor in the University of Pennsylvania.

the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants; now, one is considered amply sufficient for this purpose. Yet there were interests there which claimed the entire and careful attention of Mühlenberg. There was the noble family of the baroness of Gersdorf, with whom social and official duties brought him into frequent intercourse. He considered it a peculiar favor of Providence that his clerical associate, the Rev. Süsse, was in matters of religion of one mind with himself, and was a colleague both agreeable and by his solid scholarship valuable in the intercourse he had with him. An Orphan-House, founded by the baroness and her mother, who had died before Mühlenberg's arrival, gave him ample opportunity each day to teach and to assist in the management of the house, since there were four different departments in it which he had to superintend. The first one was a higher school, in which sons of impoverished noblemen were instructed in the classics and other higher branches, also in the fundamentals of the Christian religion, to prepare them for future study. The distressing condition of widows of noblemen who had in turbulent times lost the means of educating their sons properly, and were in those parts often exposed to the proselyting attempts of Papists, had given occasion for the establishment of this department, in which three teachers gave instruction. In the second department thirty-two poor, needy boys, children of the subjects of the baroness, were furnished with boarding and clothing and obtained their education, their teachers being young men selected from the more advanced scholars and specially prepared for this office. The third department contained some poor orphan girls; and the fourth was an asylum for a number of aged widows, some of them blind and helpless, who were here charitably sustained and received spiritual assistance to prepare them for the last hour. The whole institution was under wise laws and regulations. The baroness spent yearly more than three thousand *thaler* (dollars) of her income for this benevolent purpose; there was no income from any other source. Mühlenberg found ample opportunity as a superintendent to show his talent for instruc-

tion and discipline. After divers changes that Orphan-House still exists, is under the authority of the government of Saxony, serves as a reformatory school for neglected and unruly boys, of whom there are about one hundred, while there is room for one hundred more. But there was in addition to the Orphan-House another, smaller institution, in which Protestants who suffered persecution on this account in Bohemia found refuge, received instruction in the Bohemian language, and were spiritually cared for. Mühlenberg found it his duty to learn enough of that language (Czech) to enable him to assist in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The Bohemian interest had in former years been of much more significance at Grosshennersdorf. When Baroness Gersdorf in 1721 began her benevolent labors she erected the Orphan-House, also invited a considerable number of Bohemian Protestant refugees and allowed them to establish themselves on her estate in a colony called Schönbrunn. In 1726 a Bohemian congregation was organized, and Rev. John Liberda called to preside over it. Difficulties arose, and in 1732 a large number of Bohemians emigrated to Berlin, where King William I., father of Frederick the Great, moved by the intercessions of Rev. Liberda, built for their use the well-known Bethlehem Church, which was dedicated March 12, 1737. Mühlenberg found, consequently, at Grosshennersdorf only a remnant of the former Bohemian congregation. The baroness herself, on account of her liberality, which transcended her income, was involved in difficulties, and sold her estate in 1740 to Baron Charles G. von Burgsdorf. Mühlenberg, whose support in consequence of this was reduced and rendered doubtful, received in the same year an invitation to pay a visit and to preach at Görlitz, where a pastoral charge was vacant. But in obedience to the entreaties and arguments of the baroness, who continued to reside in her old mansion until her death, August 2, 1761, he paid no attention to the call, continued in the discharge of his duties, and resolved to pay in 1741 a visit to his native place, with a view to receive a part of his paternal inheritance, and thus to be enabled to

continue his labors at Grosshennersdorf. It was indeed impossible to act in a more generous way.

It was in the month of July, 1741, when Mühlenberg intended to set out on his journey. Just at that time Baron von Gersdorf, brother of the baroness, who was engaged in diplomatic services, arrived as a visitor. He made Mühlenberg his companion on the route to Leipsic. From here Mühlenberg went to Koestritz to pay his respect to his former patron, Count Reuss. Taking his advice and furnished by him with the necessary means, he proceeded at once to Halle.

During Mühlenberg's visit to Koestritz a certain Baron von Braun had been staying there, who had heard about the condition of things at Grosshennersdorf, and, reaching Halle before Mühlenberg, most probably gave the Rev. Dr. Francke some information concerning Mühlenberg's situation. This fully explains how it happened that when Mühlenberg, a few days afterward, arrived at Halle, Francke at supper, to which he had invited him, offered him "a call to the dispersed Lutherans in Pennsylvania," adding, however, "to make a trial of a few years." Without much deliberation Mühlenberg answered that if he could see in it the will of God he would go, and that he felt bound to go wherever Providence called him. This happened Sept. 6, 1741.

Thus a moment or a few words may determine the career and the issues of a whole life. Thus the decision of a moment may fix the fate of thousands. And certainly this was the case here.

But in this world, alongside of the most momentous events in the history of individuals and of thousands, the smallest trifles will attach themselves. When Mühlenberg had, without any hesitancy, following the first impulse of his heart, declared his resolution, good Mrs. Henrietta Francke was so elated with joy that she at once presented the young pastor with a comfortable dressing-gown, hoping and trusting that now some help had arrived for the suffering brethren of the faith in Pennsylvania. Possibly we are right in assuming that

this incident goes far to prove that the destitute Lutherans beyond the Atlantic, and the painful inability up to that time to find them proper help, had often been subjects of conversation in Dr. Francke's family.

In accordance with the advice of Dr. Francke, Mühlenberg now proposed to pay a visit at once to his relatives in his native place, and to consult with them about his affairs and plans for the future. A trifling impediment, want of room for him in the regular stage-coach, prevented the carrying out of this purpose. Meanwhile, Baron von Gersdorf had arrived at Halle, on his return once more to Grosshennersdorf, and he now invited Mühlenberg to accompany him. On Sept. 14 they arrived safely at Grosshennersdorf.

Dr. Francke having informed his friend, the Rev. Dr. Fr. M. Ziegenhagen of London, of Mühlenberg's willingness to go as a missionary among the Lutherans in Pennsylvania, he received from Ziegenhagen a full approval of his offer of the call to Mühlenberg, and the conditions—viz. that he should accept the call for three years, so as to make a trial, and that he should have liberty to return after that period; that his travelling expenses from Upper Lusatia to America should be paid, and also those for his return in case he should demand them; that the sums necessary for these and a sufficient salary should be taken from the charitable gifts collected by Ziegenhagen; also, that Mühlenberg should receive his regular call, with these conditions annexed, from Ziegenhagen, to whom the Pennsylvania congregations had committed the matter. All of this Francke, after the lapse of a few weeks, communicated to Mühlenberg, who had made the baroness acquainted with what had happened at Halle; to which she replied that "there certainly was an extensive uncultivated field in America." When she learned of Dr. Ziegenhagen's consent, being then in the midst of her financial difficulties, she inquired at what time the ships were to leave Europe and when Mühlenberg had to be there. This Mühlenberg reported to Francke. A few days later the baroness thought he had been too hasty in this matter, and that he should certainly lay his case first

before his high patrons, the Counts Reuss and Henkel. They answered that if he could see his way clear to leave Grosshennersdorf they could very well employ him in the "Vogtland," where their dominions were situated. Dr. Francke, on the other hand, advised him he should come as soon as possible.

The possessions of the baroness and the administration of her estates had meanwhile passed into the hands of Herr von Burgsdorf. A number of members of the Orphan-House and a part of the congregation made application to him, praying that he would not permit Mühlenberg's departure. The baron declared to him that he wished him to remain in his present official position—that changes going on in the outward administration of his official duties would affect him only so far as to reduce to some extent his labors. It appears that the whole complication of circumstances was of such a nature as to give great anxiety to Mühlenberg, and he was very desirous of clearly recognizing the will of God. He wrote to Francke and Ziegenhagen. The letter to Ziegenhagen was enclosed in the one to Francke, who, however, informed Mühlenberg that he did not despatch it, and added that he must at once arrive at a final decision, either yea or nay. Should he refuse the call to Pennsylvania, it would be left to his conscience, acting as accountable to God. "His Excellency the count" soon afterward also sent a message to the effect that Mühlenberg should accept the call to America, since it would be easier to find the proper person for the vacancy at home than for the mission-field beyond the sea; and the promise was given that for Mühlenberg's vacant position with divine help a suitable incumbent should be found. A successor was indeed found in 1744, Rev. Anton Rhode, who, unfortunately, proved such a troublesome individual that he was finally suspended.

Before bidding farewell to Grosshennersdorf we have to refer to a circumstance which offers to us perhaps more than a mere episodic interest, and which cannot be omitted in the annals of Mühlenberg's life and times. There are strong

reasons to believe that during his pastorate at Grosshennersdorf he entered the literary arena, and that this was in his whole career the only case of this kind. The facts are these. In those times controversy between the old conservative ecclesiastical party and the Pietists or the radicals and progressivists was the order of the day. There were among the conservatives undoubtedly many clergymen of very little spiritual life, who in a perfunctory manner attended to their official duties, and whose hatred against the Pietists, who were endeavoring to arouse more religious feeling and life, and with fervor preached repentance and Christ crucified, came from carnal motives. But there were among the opponents of Pietism also men of a godly character and of sound practical principles, who saw in the innovations and methods of Pietism much that to them portended no good to the Church and religion. While they could approve of the efforts of Pietism in the direction of practical godliness, Christian charity, the suppression of vice, the alleviation of misery, they could not close their eyes to certain dangers which they found inherent in Pietism. It laid too much stress upon the feelings and doubtful mental conditions of individuals, and endangered and put into the background the solid form of true faith, the creed of the Church; it had occasioned here and there very objectionable excitements and eccentricities; it encouraged separation within the Church, and often a very objectionable censoriousness against the ministers on the part of the hearers. Certainly, these were serious things, and men of the highest conscientiousness and friends of true godliness might well feel alarmed under the circumstances.

One of the prevailing features of Pietism was that, in addition to the ordinary public services, its lay adherents held private conventicles in family circles. These meetings were often conducted by clergymen holding the same views; laymen also, of the proper character and talent, expounded passages of the gospel and led in prayer. We can understand that meetings of such a character may have been felt as a necessity in congregations presided over by unspiritual pas-

tors, whose preaching was dry, lifeless, cold, or offensive to believers. We would not maintain that under such unfortunate circumstances godly members of the congregation have no right to meet for mutual edification in private houses, provided all things be done in decency, on the basis of the true faith and sound religion, and not in the interest of party spirit and strife. But we cannot shut our eyes to the dangers of fomenting a foreign spirit, of opening the gates to errorists, and of engendering by those means separation and spiritual pride.

Now, it appears that in the year 1740 the Rev. Balthasar Mentzer, D. D., general superintendent of the church in the duchy of Kalenberg, court-preacher, etc., etc., published a book wherein he exposes in a quiet, unobjectionable manner these dangers connected with private conventicles, and warns Christian people against them. We cannot doubt that he uttered those warnings prompted by the best motives, and that he was sustained in his views by an extensive pastoral experience. That no answer should appear to his objections, and no attempt should be made to refute his arguments, could hardly be expected in those times, although the controversies between orthodox or conservatives and the Pietists had already lost much of their former acrimony. There appeared in the year 1741 a pamphlet in the form of an address to Dr. B. Mentzer, wherein the author attempts to show that Mentzer's position in this matter was not supported by any convincing proof; that Pietism with its newly-introduced agencies and instrumentalities was called forth by the actual and deplorable condition of the Church; and that private conventicles did not deserve condemnation. It cannot be denied that the tone of the pamphlet was not without a satirical element and somewhat irritating. Dr. Mentzer, who might have taken up his pen again to defend his views, was by death prevented from doing so; he departed this life Dec. 20, 1741. The pamphlet published against him attracted attention in literary circles, and in various theological periodicals of those years reference is made to it. The author had not given his full name, but on the title-page only introduced himself as D. M. Soon the

critics read this "Diaconus Mühlenberg," and in various publications the pamphlet was ascribed to the young pastor at Grosshennersdorf, who, to our knowledge, never denied his authorship. Neither does it appear that any of his friends after his departure from Germany maintained that that pamphlet had not come from his hand. True it is that in all his extensive private manuscripts Mühlenberg never referred to that attempt to use the public press. If it was his first effort in polemics of such a character, it was also his last one. He served throughout his life the *ecclesia militans*, but avoided the public battleground of theological controversies. To us a peculiar interest rests in this, that except one sermon printed in Philadelphia many years later, that pamphlet is the only publication ever ascribed to him as author.*

After having under considerable emotion delivered, Dec. 9, 1741, his farewell sermon, he handed over to the proper authorities, in good order, all the documents and accounts entrusted to him. With mutual good-wishes for steadfastness in the faith and for a happy meeting in the land beyond the grave, and with prayers, he paid his last respects at the mansion of the baroness, and departed in stormy weather from Grosshennersdorf, Dec. 17, 1741.

Travelling westward by the way of Bautzen, Dresden, Oschatz, Leipsic, and Altenburg, he came, Dec. 23d, to Pölnitz, where Count Henkel entertained the worn-out traveller in a most hospitable manner, refreshing him in body and soul, and on Jan. 2, 1742, had him conveyed in a vehicle to Count Reuss at Koestritz, who received him no less kindly. He had at both places to lead in worship in the residences of the counts, and to preach. Both his noble friends at that time already had advanced into the sixties, and the farewell was keenly felt by Mühlenberg, there being little prospect that he would see them again on earth. Jan. 8th, Count Reuss had his guest conveyed to Halle, Mühlenberg on the road paying a visit to the Orphan-House at Langendorf.

* The preface to the German hymnbook edited 1786 by the Pennsylvania Ministerium is also from Mühlenberg's hand.

It was a wintry day, so cold that Mühlenberg's hands and feet were frost-bitten, when, in the evening of Jan. 9, he arrived at Halle and as a guest entered the house of Mrs. Dr. Goetz. Afterward Francke took him to his house, where he received all the attention his case needed and hospitality could offer. Efforts were made to find an associate for Mühlenberg to accompany him as a colaborer to Pennsylvania, but no suitable one was found.

We have arrived at the end of what we may call the preparatory period of H. M. Mühlenberg's life. He was led on thus far by a kind Providence. The years of his youth had not been without hardship and sad experiences. Temptations, found everywhere, and especially in the cōurse of young students, had assailed him. He escaped them unscathed. He faithfully used the opportunities and means offered to him to finish his education. He experienced in the most dangerous years of man's life the powerful influences of the Holy Spirit, and was awakened to a spiritual life. The resolution to walk before God was firmly taken and sincerely kept. Friends and patrons were found who confirmed him in this resolution and its execution. He had endeared himself to godly people of lowly and high standing. Already he had entered upon the field of action, had tried his strength, and gathered some experience. He had matured for greater tasks, for the peculiar and comprehensive mission of his life. Heretofore friends and advisers stood near enough for him to receive from them at any time encouragement and counsel. And their prayers accompanied him into the distant land beyond the ocean and into an uncertain future. Departing from them, he was, as the saying is, "thrown upon his own resources," and had under unusual and trying circumstances to evolve and to prove the Christian manhood that was in him.

CHAPTER III.

1742.

Departure from Halle.—Mühlenberg arrives at Eimbeck by the way of Halberstadt, Wernigerode, Göttingen.—Unpleasant experiences there through clerical censoriousness.—Passing through Hanover, Osnabrück, Deventer, and Norden to Amsterdam, through Leyden, Rotterdam, Briel, to Helvoetsluys, he sets sail for England.—Acquaintance made on board the ship.—Arrival at London.—Intercourse with Ziegenhagen, John Dav. Michaelis, H. A. Butjender, and others.—Mühlenberg receives the formal call to the Evangelical Lutheran congregations of Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hanover in Pennsylvania.—He is requested to visit the Salzburger congregation at Ebenezer, Ga.—Sets sail for the New World.

HAVING departed, Feb. 4, 1742, from Halle, where in those times the way of extending God's kingdom on earth was providentially decided for Mühlenberg and for many other missionaries of the gospel and the cause of Christ, the candidate for spiritual services among the Lutherans in Pennsylvania arrived the following evening at Halberstadt, and at a late hour of the day paid his respects to some members of the family of the Counts Wernigerode, then sojourning there, who stood in intimate relation with Dr. Francke and other godly men at Halle, and to whom, as well as to other sympathizing friends who were present, he was quite welcome. That in such a circle conversation would turn to questions of personal religious experience and the interests of Christ's cause on earth might be expected. It belonged indeed to the characteristics of Pietism. The count also, in addition to good advice, gave Mühlenberg a number of tracts referring to the life of his deceased wife, which he intended partly for readers in America, partly for the missionaries in East India; hence some were to be left in London, thence to be transmitted to their destination.

On Feb. 6th, Mühlenberg arrived at Wernigerode, the old, venerable residence of the counts of the same name, and there, as on a former visit, he was hospitably entertained by his friend, Pastor Boetticher. On the following day he was invited to hold religious services at the princely residence and to be present at a conference meeting attended by a considerable number of pastors of that district. The Counts Wernigerode exercised sovereign authority in their dominions, like many other high-standing and wealthy noble families of Germany. They consequently had also ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This power they used in favor of the missionaries from Halle. A number of them, and some sent to Pennsylvania, before departing for their destination were ordained by the church dignitaries of Wernigerode. We know that Mühlenberg was ordained at Leipsic.

On Feb. 8th he preached in the pulpit of his friend Boetticher the first sermon of the Lent season of that year; he also held services in the neighboring Ilsenburg, and here also met a number of pastors in sympathy with Halle and Pietism. On the following day, in a terrible storm, he went up again to the mansion of the counts, took farewell of the head of the noble house, and arrived, after much hardship, at Göttingen, where he was hospitably entertained by his old patron and friend, Prof. Dr. Oporin, who rejoiced after four years of separation to have his former pupil again under his roof. That the charity school founded by the co-operation of Mühlenberg was on this occasion an object of his attention hardly needs a remark. He paid his respects to some of his former teachers and a number of brethren in the faith, and Feb. 17th continued his journey and arrived at his native place, Eimbeck.

It was a great satisfaction to him once more to see his aged mother. But to her and his brothers and sisters and other relatives the idea of his going to America was most distressing. His mother said she would rather follow him to his grave than learn that the Indians had torn him to pieces. Of course we in our times consider the crossing of the Atlantic simply as an excursion for pleasure; in those times the case

was a totally different one, fraught with innumerable difficulties and dangers. Not only a very protracted and stormy voyage, but miserable and scanty provisions, loathsome diseases, attacks of pirates, and other ills stared the adventurous traveller in the face. These things, however, could not discourage Mühlenberg.

His visit to Eimbeck was unexpectedly connected with unpleasant experiences. It seems that his hearty consent to the views and principles pronounced at Halle was well known to the clerical dignitaries of his native town. There were at least some of them who on this account were prejudiced against him and did not wish him to preach in their pulpits, and therein acted against the request of a number of the citizens. Many of these who in their religious views and feelings sided with him visited him at his private residence. It was stated that he held with them private religious services. On Sunday, Feb. 25th, however, he preached, at the request of one of the pastors of the town, Rev. Benckhard, senior of the clergy, in one of the churches at Eimbeck. The building, as may be expected, was crowded. Mühlenberg took as his text the Gospel of the day, third Sunday in Lent, Luke xi. 14–28, and spoke on "the diverse effects produced on those present by the miracle of Christ." In the evening of that day a number of friends came to him, with whom he entered into conversation on religious subjects. There were present also some strangers. On the following morning the burgomaster sent him command "to desist from holding Pietistic conventicles, which the law of the country prohibited." At a subsequent visit to the house of the burgomaster he was informed that two of the clergy of the town—one of them Herr Superintendent John George Hunt—were his accusers. These gentlemen were not satisfied with first steps, but sent reports to the highest ecclesiastical authorities at Hanover: they also requested the civil and the clerical authorities of a neighboring village, where Mühlenberg was expected to preach, to prevent him from holding conventicles. This caused Mühlenberg to return from that village without having accom-

plished his object. He took occasion to admonish those who sympathized with him not to entertain any schismatic thoughts or devices.

On March 12th he was summoned before the burgomaster of Eimbeck, who read to him a rescript sent by the high authorities of Hanover demanding that "the burgomaster and the superintendent should unitedly, under the menace of imprisonment, command Mühlenberg to desist from holding conventicles." Mühlenberg's question, whether such a procedure was not suggestive of the Spanish Inquisition, the burgomaster answered with a smile, and dismissed him kindly. He proceeded straightway to the Right Rev. Superintendent, to whom he presented the certificate of his ordination at Leipsic and his testimonials from Göttingen. The Superintendent regretted that Mühlenberg had not visited him before, excused himself by saying that two of the pastors of the town had compelled him to bring the charges, embraced the "miserable delinquent," and dismissed him with his blessing.

Having taken farewell of his relatives and friends, Mühlenberg departed on March 17th to Hanover, where Frau von Hattorf hospitably entertained him and made the necessary arrangements for him to pay his respects to the members of the consistory, composed of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries of the electoral dominion. He soon learned that it had been reported from Eimbeck that "an individual had appeared there who pretended to be a preacher from Saxony, but that he was a mere vagabond and a heretic, who had recently returned from Pennsylvania, was holding Pietistic conventicles at Eimbeck, and causing dissatisfaction with the existing laws." These calumnies and inventions Mühlenberg could refute without any difficulty. He did not need the advice which the head of the consistory, Dr. Tappe, gave him not to take revenge on his accusers, since all the clergy of the Hanoverian dominion might have to suffer in public estimation.

Here also he met with a number of friends among the clergy and laity who shared in his religious views and feel-

ings. With two of them he went, on March 24th, the day before Easter, to Rev. Winkler, pastor at Peina, for whom he entertained very affectionate regard; paid visits to two other pastors in the neighborhood; preached on Monday after Easter at Peina, and returned on March 27th to Hanover. Here he was admitted to the presence of Frau von Münchhausen, wife of the high dignitary who had kindly assisted him as a student at Göttingen. This noble Christian lady continued her good-will toward him for many years after he had begun his missionary work in Pennsylvania. The Rev. Flügge, one of the pastors of Hanover city, encouraged by Dr. Tappe, president of the consistory, had invited Mühlenberg to preach on April 1st in his parish church. Another member of the same high ecclesiastical board, a jurist, remonstrated with Flügge, but was invited by him to come and to hear for himself, as he could then form a better judgment; which advice he took. After listening to the sermon he said that "it had all been orthodox, in agreement with the Formula of Concord." Thinking, however, that the designs of the adherents of the so-called orthodox, anti-Pietistic party might lead to further unpleasant results, Mühlenberg sent his official certificates and testimonials to the privy council of the Hanoverian government. They were sent back to him after a few days. Researches recently made in the ecclesiastical archives of the now Prussian province of Hanover have brought to light no trace of any transaction on record concerning Mühlenberg.

Departing from Hanover April 5th, and proceeding with the stage to Osnabrück, where he arrived April 7th, Mühlenberg, as he tells us, keenly felt the separation from his native country, from his relatives and many friends, with whom he was connected by the tenderest ties. But he says that divine Providence, which benevolently extends his care even to the smallest and most insignificant creatures, protected him in his long journey in the "most fatherly manner."

His first companions in the stage were two lawyers, who asserted that they knew Mühlenberg when students at Göttin-

gen. During this conversation allusion was made to Pietism, and one of the two finding fault with the progress of Pietism in Hanover, Mühlenberg asked him to define Pietism. His answer proved sufficiently that he did not know what he was talking about, but it helped, as Mühlenberg says, to render the time less tedious to the travellers. Arriving at Osnabrück, they were at once summoned before the French general, who with some thousand soldiers had taken quarters in the town. Query: What had brought the French to German soil? When the emperor Charles VI. died in 1740 he left no son as heir to the throne, but in consequence of the ratification by some of the powers of the recently-settled principle that the Austrian monarchy should continue undivided, and that, in case of no legitimate male heir, the eldest daughter should ascend the throne, Maria Theresa, wife of the grandduke Francis Stephan of Tuscany, took the Austrian sceptre. But she had to defend her claim against mighty foes. Frederick the Great at once marched (Dec. 17, 1740) into Silesia, parts of which he claimed as belonging to his estates. In consequence of his decisive victories over the Austrian army, all Silesia was ceded to him at the Peace of Breslau, 1742, he on his part acknowledging Maria Theresa as the lawful regent of Austria. But with the electoral prince of Bavaria, Charles Albrecht, who claimed to be the legitimate heir of the Austrian throne, the French formed in 1741 a coalition against Maria Theresa, and two French armies marched into Germany—one in the south, the other against Hanover, which with England and Hessia sided with Austria. The French suffered total defeat (1743) at Dettingen, and finally, after various changes of fortune of the several armies and protracted diplomatic transactions, Maria Theresa was acknowledged empress of Austria in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, her husband having already, in 1742, been elected at Frankfurt emperor of Germany, at that time rather an empty title. These circumstances fully explain why Mühlenberg met a French army at Osnabrück, and a general who closely examined the travellers as to their political connections. Mühlenberg, declaring him-

self a minister of the gospel, was at once set free. He had time enough to glance in the town-hall at the portraits of the ambassadors who, after most protracted discussion as to their respective privileges according to diplomatic etiquette, had finally, in 1648, brought peace to unfortunate Germany and an end to the Thirty Years' War. He also observed, in going through the streets, how the French soldiers in the exuberance of their war-spirit, were dancing and leaping in torn pantaloons like wagtails, and how gladly the citizens would have seen the departure of these unclean birds.

Departing at noon with a single companion in the stage, one of the two lawyers of Hanover having left him at Deventer, Mühlenberg considered it a special providence that, while yet in Westphalia near Bentheim, a merchant from Holland, bound for Amsterdam, joined his company. This gentleman took the pains to give him his first lessons in the Dutch language, of which Mühlenberg had ample occasion to make use at a much later time; he also advised him to speak his good German with slow pronunciation, so that the Hollanders would readily understand him. They found that in the towns of Holland hardly anything was to be had gratuitously, save the chimes and their sentimental melodies.

Having reached the town of Norden, April 10th, they went on board of a boat pulled by horses (the first time Mühlenberg travelled by water), and arrived at Amsterdam, where his companion, performing his last act of kindness, guided him to Messrs. Deutz and Sons, to whom he handed the recommendations given by his illustrious patrons at Hanover. They treated him with all politeness after the manner of the country, procured him comfortable lodgings, and gave him recommendations to a merchant of high standing at Rotterdam, "Mr. Hering of the Loewenhoven by de Swane-Staeg." The 10th of April he spent in visiting some of the perishable curiosities of this world of which the wealthy city boasts. He was more benefited by the first properly-prepared meal and the first undisturbed rest in a comfortable bed after five nights and days' travelling in a stage-coach. April 11th he proceeded through

Leyden to Rotterdam, where Mr. Hering received him kindly, had him properly lodged, and took the trouble to show him the sights of the city. Arriving April 10th at Briel, by the advice of a well-educated Hollander he took lodgings in an inn kept by an Englishman. Here he had occasion to observe that the tradesmen in their conversation spoke the English in such an abbreviated, hurried, and lisping way that he could not understand a word, though he had begun the study of that language at Göttingen, and even on some festive occasion had delivered at Grosshennersdorf an oration in English; which, however, not a soul understood save the local physician, who had also acquired all his English at Göttingen. He tells us the good people at Briel thought he was rather deaf, and therefore screamed into his ears, thereby "making confusion worse confounded." He thought that if he had been a Frenchman he might have helped himself more readily by gesticulations, but, says he, "for such manœuvres the Low Germans (Platt-Deutsche) and Hollanders are too stiff, and the common English people don't like the French." His English host, however, proved very kind and compassionate to the German stranger.

April 14th the stage-coach took him to Helvoetsluys; there he was booked in the regular packet-boat for England. Among the passengers was an Hungarian officer of the court at Vienna, who was sent on a special mission to England, spoke also the Latin, French, and to some extent the English language, and took a kind interest in Mühlenberg. When Mühlenberg, in answer to his inquiry, had modestly informed him in Latin that he was a minister of the gospel on his way for America and upon his first sea-voyage, he looked after him in a fatherly manner. As soon as they had left port a contrary wind, increasing in vehemence, struck the ship. Sea-sickness overcame the passengers. Mühlenberg says that he was prostrated as by palsy. The Hungarian gentleman formed the only exception, and, though two servants were at his command, he was for two hours at the bed of his sick ward and nursed him. The stormy weather continued until, on the

evening of April 16th, they cast anchor at Harwich, the first town of England which they reached. Not without considerable trouble, though assisted by his Hungarian friend, Mühlenberg landed his baggage. That gentleman managed to get a private room for himself and his ward for a short time, and asked him to pray for him, which Mühlenberg did not fail to do, interceding for him in a short prayer before the throne of grace. The gentleman was a Roman Catholic, but in his way expressed himself as a Christian. Before leaving he recommended Mühlenberg to the particular care of the stage-driver and took an affectionate farewell of his protégé, who had cause to thank God for having an eye of mercy even for the "least of the children of men," and to remember the guardian angel of Tobit.

Leaving Harwich in the afternoon of April 16th, he arrived at Colchester the same evening, made the best use he could of his stock of English, and after various unpleasant experiences with a drunken cab-driver through the endless streets of the city of London, he finally, on the evening of April 17, was safely brought to the house of Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, D. D., court-preacher at the German St. James Chapel, who resided in the district of Kensington. Here he was first greeted by a young scholarly German theologian, John David Michaelis, then a guest of Ziegenhagen, to whom he at once introduced the stranger. Ziegenhagen welcomed Mühlenberg with thanks and praises to God. On the following day Mühlenberg moved to the lodgings which had already been taken for him in the vicinity, but he was kindly invited to be a daily guest at the table of Ziegenhagen.

We have in Mühlenberg's own hand a detailed account of his life and the experiences of every day during his protracted stay at London. There is no need to enter upon all these minutiæ. Mühlenberg does not refer to the impressions made upon him by the buildings, bridges, galleries of paintings, monuments, and other curiosities. But he speaks repeatedly of the benefits he derived from his intercourse with his fatherly friend, the Rev. Dr. Ziegenhagen, who was a devout

Christian, a friend to the missionaries, a practical interpreter of the Scriptures, and by his position a man of an unusually wide range of pastoral experience, and who enjoyed the high esteem of persons of high social standing. The German royal chapel, called St. James, was established in London through Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne, daughter of James II., and successor of William of Orange. The first incumbent of the charge had been Rev. Anton William Boehme, who used his position and influence to ameliorate the pitiable condition of the emigrants from the Palatinate, of whom about ten thousand were in 1709 encamped near London. Some thousands of them were settled in June, 1710, by the English government on the shores of the Hudson. After Boehme's death Ziegenhagen was appointed in 1722, through the influence of A. H. Francke of Halle, his successor, and remained in the office until, Jan. 24, 1776, he entered into his rest. He never married, and left his worldly possessions to the missions of East India and America. Hymns of his composition were sung in Lutheran congregations in the New World, and catechumens memorized an epitome of his catechism in rhymes of his making. It hardly need be told that he was in fullest sympathy with the Halle Pietism. This makes it perfectly plain that Mühlenberg could unreservedly enter into his feelings and views, and that he approached this witness for gospel truth in an elevated position with much reverence.

The novelty of sojourning at London amid the turbulent waves of its social life and frivolous gayety might have exercised a distracting influence upon the mind of a man who had led a quiet pastoral existence in one of the most remote corners of Germany. It appears that Mühlenberg was in no way attracted or influenced by it, but rejoiced in his intercourse with Ziegenhagen and other men who served the thousands of Germans living in that metropolis of the world's commerce and wealth in the pastoral office, or awakened his interest by their erudition in theology and cognate branches of learning. In this respect his acquaintance with the learned

Michaelis, whom as a teacher he had known in Germany, was of much advantage to him. This young scholar was at that time travelling to perfect his general education and to make use of the literary treasures of different countries. In this respect the great libraries and antiquarian collections of London and of other celebrated seats of learning and literature in England were things of great interest to him. Michaelis, who was born in 1717 at Halle, and had received instruction in classics in the higher branches of the schools connected with the Orphan-House, after his return from England began his career as a public teacher at the University of Göttingen in 1745, and was appointed in 1756 professor of Oriental languages and literature in that seat of learning. He lectured, however, also on a general variety of topics of exegetical and systematic theology, published books containing most valuable information on antiquities and other subjects pertaining to the interpretation of the Bible, edited essays on the study of Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, and rose to highest eminence as a linguist and theologian. When meeting Mühlenberg at London in 1742 he had not yet adopted those views of the Supranaturalistic School, as it is called in Germany, which, while professing to oppose Rationalism in principle, makes, nevertheless, so many concessions to it that the orthodox faith has reason to be afraid of such friends no less than of its pronounced opponents. But this is the position Michaelis held in later years. He lost much of what he had imbibed in his youth at Halle, and the fundamental ideas of the Bible lost under his treatment in later years much of their substantiality. The missionary whom he met at the quiet house of Ziegenhagen never rose, it is true, to high renown in the world of letters, but, holding fast to the old landmarks, he laid the foundation of the Lutheran Church in the New World, and thereby raised for himself a more noble monument, lasting through ages.

It afforded pleasure to Mühlenberg to become acquainted with other men engaged either in serving German Lutheran congregations in the large city, like the Rev. H. A. Butjender,

pastor from 1732 of the German Evangelical Lutheran St. Mary's Church in the district of Savoy in London, or being engaged in the cause of Christ's kingdom in other relations. Ziegenhagen took his friend also to the house where the Society de Promovenda Cognitione Christi, with which the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was united since 1701, met. Mühlenberg also found occasion to preach and to assist in the administration of the Lord's Supper. It seems that in view of the mission of his life he derived the greatest benefit for himself from his daily intercourse with Ziegenhagen, whose extensive pastoral experience and penetration in the analysis and practical application of Bible texts proved to him of much advantage. With humble modesty he sat many a blessed hour at the feet of this godly teacher, and found himself again and again instructed, encouraged, and spiritually benefited.

Of course London could only be a transient station for Mühlenberg, whose destination was the far West beyond the Atlantic. But London served him in various ways to prepare him better for his future work.

Arrangements were made to procure him a passage in a vessel intended to proceed to sea soon after Whitsunday. On May 24th, Ziegenhagen handed to him the formal official call to the Evangelical Lutheran congregations of Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hanover in Pennsylvania. It was a memorable moment, in which Mühlenberg profoundly felt the responsibility which he took upon himself and the difficulties he would have to contend with. Viewing the very peculiar character of his mission, he was distressed with serious misgivings about his own ability. The comforting and encouraging words of his fatherly friend proved to him a great blessing. It was a matter of minor concern that the landlord with whom he lodged in Kensington, a godly man, Mr. Matthison, who had in 1733 proved himself very serviceable, through his knowledge of the English language, to the first company of Salzburg Lutheran refugees on their voyage to Savannah, Ga., took him to a London merchant-tailor to

procure for him a ministerial gown, an article in those times much less dispensable to a pastor than in our age. The gown intended for public services in Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania was like the gowns of the clergy of the Anglican Church. In this kind of robe Lutheran pastors were hereafter in a great many places in America clothed when performing public services. It differs considerably from the official dress of Lutheran clergymen in Germany and other countries. A number of other necessaries besides this had to be provided for the voyage.

During his stay at London, Mühlenberg sent also letters to a considerable number of benevolent patrons and dear friends in Germany, among whom Francke and Oporin were not forgotten.

It was the wish of Ziegenhagen that Mühlenberg should, before proceeding to Pennsylvania, pay a visit in Georgia to the Salzburg Lutherans, who had settled there and founded Ebenezer, about twenty-four miles west of Savannah. He also desired the Rev. Boltzius, one of the two Ebenezer pastors, to accompany Mühlenberg to Pennsylvania, and to assist him in beginning his pastoral labors and in the work of organizing in the same way the Lutherans found there. With this arrangement Mühlenberg was perfectly satisfied, and takes occasion in his narrative to refer to Eccles. iv. 10: "Woe to him that is alone, when he falleth, for he has not another to help him up." For this reason Ziegenhagen had taken passage for him on the packet-ship for Georgia, which the trustees intended to send thither, where General J. E. Oglethorpe, in their behalf, administered the affairs of the province. George II. of England had set apart a large tract of land south of the Savannah River for the benefit of poor people of England and Protestant refugees from other countries. The management of the land was in the hands of a number of bishops and members of Parliament as trustees, in whose behalf Oglethorpe acted. When all Protestant Christendom was greatly excited on account of the expulsion of thousands of orderly, honest, and industrious evangelical Christians from their native land

and their homes by the bigoted and intolerant bishop of Salzburg, L. A. Firmian, about 1731, the trustees, in union with the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," resolved to transport three hundred of these exiles to Georgia, and to provide for them in temporal and spiritual things until they were able to take care of themselves. The Rev. Sam. Urlsperger, senior of the Lutheran clergy at Augsburg, offered his services in this philanthropic enterprise. Oct. 1, 1733, the first party started from Augsburg, and were joined at Rotterdam by the Rev. John Martin Boltzius and Rev. Israel Christian Gronau, formerly teachers in the institutions founded by H. A. Francke at Halle. The first Salzburgers arrived at Savannah March 11, 1734, and settled in the locality by them called Ebenezer. Encouraged by good reports from the colonists, in September, 1734, another party, of fifty-seven persons, left for Georgia, who again were followed in 1736 by a third party. Other Salzburg emigrants had in 1733 settled in Holland, but were not in congenial surroundings there, and numbers of them again emigrated. A family of Salzburg emigrants we find companions of Mühlenberg on his voyage across the ocean. They were of those who for a time had settled in Holland, having been residents of Casant in the province of Seeland. The trustees were not willing to pay their travelling expenses. Ziegenhagen, showing a noble example of Christian charity, gave for them no less than about thirty pounds sterling, in addition to which they had Mühlenberg as a companion and as a spiritual adviser during the voyage.

After sojourning nine weeks in London, Mühlenberg (Friday, June 11th) took farewell of Rev. Butjender and Rev. Ziegenhagen. With the latter he had profitably spent some hours of that day. They parted with the feeling that they would not meet again in this world—a presentiment which the subsequent course of events verified.

On the following day Mr. Matthison and Mühlenberg took the tide-boat to meet the packet-ship, a brigantine, which had proceeded to Gravesend. In the afternoon of June 13th,

Mühlenberg went on the ship, where he met a number of the trustees, and was introduced to the captain, McClellan, who, as Mühlenberg says, was a morose Scotchman, but in speaking Latin used the continental pronunciation—a circumstance which gave Mühlenberg an opportunity to converse with him in that language. With the rest he had to use his stock of English as best he could.

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CHAPTER IV.

1742 (*continued*).

Voyage across the Atlantic.—The armature of the ship.—Misery experienced.—Dangerous foes.—Salzburgers on board.—Mühlenberg's interest in them.—Slow progress.—Painful want of drinking-water.—Uncongenial fellow-passengers.—Mühlenberg's influence over them.—He conducts services in the English language.—His conversation with the Spanish cook.

ONE of the first objects of interest to a traveller going on board of a ship is to inquire about the kind of vessel to which he commits himself and the passengers with whom he is there to associate. Generally speaking, ships crossing the ocean at that time were not "floating palaces," as we now sometimes hear them called, but rather floating prisons, fortresses, or, what is much worse, hospitals. Frightful in those times in many cases was the mortality on board of them. For one-third of the passengers to find their last resting-place in the sea was nothing uncommon. One vessel which in 1738 arrived in Philadelphia had during the voyage lost no less than two hundred and fifty souls. Passengers were crowded into the ships in a most inhuman manner, and experienced frequently most unjust and cruel treatment. Diseases—among them smallpox, the most loathsome of all—produced unspeakable distress. William Penn himself had a mournful experience of this when the first time, in 1682, he paid a visit to his province, Pennsylvania. Christopher Sauer, who deserves to be kept in remembrance as the publisher of the first German edition of the Bible in America, in 1743 at Germantown (the first English edition appeared at Philadelphia in 1782), and editor of the first German periodical in the New World, affirms that during one year more than two thousand

individuals had died whilst coming over from Europe, and adds that this had happened especially in consequence of the inhuman treatment to which passengers were exposed and the overcrowding of the ships.

The ship in which Mühlenberg, as he says in his diary, with his companions had to live or to die was provided with no less than ten iron cannons and quite a number of other weapons of war, and could therefore rather be called a floating fortress, not excluding, however, the idea of a prison. The idea of a fortress held good as long as no powerful and dangerous enemy was at hand. In such an event the fate of the vessel appeared to Mühlenberg quite doubtful, for the ship was an old one, had seen much service, had only two masts, and thus little chance of escape, and in fact only seven sailors and no soldiers. What good could the ten cannons do in an emergency? Among the six steerage passengers were the Salzburg family and four adepts of the art of tailoring; the cabins were occupied, in addition to Mühlenberg, by a lawyer, a custom-house officer, a trader, two "young fellows," a lieutenant, and one woman. To these must be added the captain, the cook (a Spanish captive), a drummer, a boy as steward, and the helmsman. Certainly, all these forces combined were not of much value either for attack or defence. The misgivings of Mühlenberg on the emergency question were apparently shared by the gentlemen trustees, who wisely had made provision to have the Georgia packet-ship safely escorted by a vessel of the royal navy—an arrangement, in those times of frequent piracy and privateering, very common, and calculated to give courage to the passengers. Mühlenberg intimates that his companions also had much trust in their royal convoy.

June 13, at 5 P. M., the anchors were weighed, and by and by the houses of Gravesend disappeared in the background. There was no attack from outside, but from within a grim foe did his humiliating work, and before long the whole vessel looked, as Mühlenberg says, like a lazaretto. Unfortunately, for this contingency no preparations had been made; no bed

was in proper condition to receive the sufferers in its tender folds, and they had to find their resting-places here and there on the floor as best they could. Mühlenberg did not escape the general misery, and in addition to it caught a severe cold, and June 14th, as he says, "could not lift his head." The vessel reached Ramsgate Road, and had to wait for high tide. On the 15th they passed Dover, had fine weather, and saw the coast of France and even some church-spires. Mühlenberg, however, continued in his miserable condition, though some mulled wine to which the captain treated him made some improvement of his condition. On the following day a two-masted vessel sailed directly toward them. The captain, stating that occasionally Spanish privateers had taken ships by pretending to be French fishing-vessels, made a display of both courage and strength by commanding the drummer to belabor his drum, the guns to be loaded, and everything to be made ready for defensive action; then asked the foe, through the speaking-trumpet, what they wanted, and received the comforting answer that they were Frenchmen engaged in fishing. Mühlenberg, feeling during the confusion concerned about the Salzburgers and inquiring after them, was pleased to find the mother with her children engaged in singing "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." Such faith, he thought, would form a much better protection than all the drumming and warlike preparations. He adds that on this occasion he was much distressed by the English habit of cursing and swearing. The behavior of the cabin-passengers, their profane language and absurd pranks at this time, were exceedingly disgusting to him, and he took no pains to conceal the state of his mind. They, observing this, began to rail at him, to which the captain, though himself joining in the general folly, at once put a stop. In the afternoon of the same day Mühlenberg gave the children of the Salzburg family a lesson in reading—a work which he continued throughout the whole voyage, instructing them also in matters of religion. He also held frequently religious services with the whole family, and sometimes was, when the weather

was pleasant, sitting with them on deck and singing the well-known German church-songs, which attracted the attention of the other passengers and the crew.

It would not be without interest, but lead us too far, if we were to follow up the incidents of every day of the voyage, of which Mühlenberg has left us a minute description. The ship made slow progress—a thing in those days not at all unusual. Passing Beachy Head June 17th, they arrived on the following day, at 11 P. M., at Spithead, near Portsmouth, where on the following morning six men-of-war of the English navy presented a beautiful sight. Most of the passengers paid a visit to Portsmouth, but returned in the evening to the vessel in a drunken condition, much to the chagrin of Mühlenberg, who had used the quiet day to bring his effects into proper order and for meditation and prayer. On the 23d of June he also visited Portsmouth, with a view once more to get a meal which his stomach, totally nauseated by the fare offered in the ship, might possibly retain. The captain received here the unwelcome information that the convoy he had expected could not be given to him, since the government of England, being then involved in a naval war with France and Spain, which ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, needed all available war-vessels for another expedition then to be undertaken. He could, however, expect some protection from a man-of-war which had orders to cruise in the English Channel as far west as Land's End. Signals having been given by this vessel, he set sail June 27th, early in the morning, but reached that day, sailing against contrary winds, only St. Helen on the Isle of Wight, a distance of about twenty-five miles. Starting again the following day, they were driven back by the storm, and had to lay by, as on June 30th the force of the storm increased. Mühlenberg, who here despatched his third letter since leaving London to Ziegenhagen, found himself in a miserable condition. The Salzburgers, who alone of all the souls on board could sympathize with his religious feelings, became a source of comfort to him, and he delighted in devoting to them as

much care as he could. It was here reported that Spanish pirates had in that vicinity taken two English ships, and that another pirate ship of twenty-four guns was cruising in the Channel. July 3d the captain returned again from St. Helen to take a safe position among the ships of the navy near Portsmouth. There they saw the Spanish privateer St. Sebastian, which ship had taken no less than thirty-nine English vessels before it was overpowered. An English ship with two hundred Germans on board, and intended for Philadelphia, was also there at anchor, but in a sad condition, since in the night a bloody fight had taken place between the Germans and the sailors.

Another attempt was made, July 6th, to make progress under the conduct of a convoy. The weather was wet and stormy. The behavior of the passengers in cabin and steerage was disgusting to Mühlenberg, who lay sick in his hammock. He felt seriously how much more distressing it is to be sick on board of a ship than on land. Meals proper for his condition he could not procure. There was a fright again among the crew and the passengers on account of the appearance of three vessels of doubtful character. But they proved to be friends. July 9th, Land's End was passed, and the following day the convoy left them, the captain thereof honestly stating that the packet-ship was not likely to reach America, since she was too old and had too heavy a cargo. The captain of the ship was, however, not at all despondent: he compelled all the men on board to drill, handed them arms, and gave every one his position on board in case of an attack. The smell of powder on this occasion had a wholesome effect on Mühlenberg, so that he could take and retain some nourishment, the first time for a number of days. July 12th a ship came in sight, but soon took another course. The same happened often during the voyage, but no attack was made. Not before July 22d was the wind favorable. About the 24th the captain supposed that they were near the island of Madeira; the ship was then in latitude 36° 37′ N., and continued to pursue a southerly course. The increase of a warm temperature

was painfully felt, and drove large numbers of rats from the hold of the ship into the hammocks of the passengers, the perspiration from whose bodies they licked off whilst sleeping, and disturbed them. July 29th the wind again took a contrary turn. August 5th, a happy change took place, and the ship made considerable headway. Aug. 6th they were in latitude 29° 2′; on the 10th they passed the Tropic of Cancer, which gave to the crew of the vessel occasion to amuse themselves, according to custom, at the expense of the passengers, two of whom they took from the steerage, tied them with ropes, and repeatedly immersed them in the waters of the ocean. For the Salzburgers, Mühlenberg paid a ransom to secure them against such frivolities. Aug. 14th they were becalmed, which condition continued for a number of days. These days of welcome rest Mühlenberg employed to write his diary. Aug. 30th the wind changed to the north, chilled the air, and brought rain. Every one now hastened to gather the falling drops in every available manner and all sorts of vessels. Such water was neither clean nor sweet, but compared with the water on board of the ship it was prized highly. Unfortunately, the supply was very limited, and soon the lack of drinkable water was most painfully felt by the passengers and by the crew. Sept. 6th the captain reckoned that he could not be very far distant from Carolina. Seeing a bank of fog, some had cried, "Land! land!" Of water very small rations were now given. Sept. 7th and the following days a contrary wind drove them backward. On the 9th they were becalmed. The lack of water was now felt as a painful affliction, and, becoming more and more serious, the captain remembered that he had somewhere on board some bottles of vinegar. They were found, but some of them without corks and half empty. The mystery of this phenomenon was solved by observing that the rats gnawed off the corks and put their tails down into the bottles, in this cunning manner to get and to enjoy the fluid. We may easily imagine that a shower of rain, setting in on the following day, was considered a real Godsend. Another and a heavier one on Sept. 12th met with

no less appreciation. On Sept. 16th all on board the ship were without any drinkable water. To attract the attention of two English war-ships cruising in the vicinity the captain hoisted the Spanish colors. They came now without any delay, and their commanders, hearing that the packet wished to deliver letters to them and that there was no drinkable water on board, assisted the sufferers by giving them three casks of the precious fluid. The water leaking from them was taken up by the Salzburg children as if it was nectar, though it was anything but fresh and sweet. On account of the danger of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who a few weeks previous had landed five thousand soldiers in Georgia, it was resolved to follow in the wake of the two ships of war, which sailed for Charleston. But, losing sight of them, the captain, finding his way finally to the sand-banks on the coast of South Carolina not very far from Charleston, met on Tuesday, Sept. 21st, with a pilot, and on the following day in the morning fired a salute in the harbor with his rusty cannons, to which the ship of the commodore stationed there promptly responded. Mühlenberg set his foot Sept. 23d upon the soil of the New World.

No less than one hundred and two days had been spent on board of the Georgia packet-ship. To him those days were not only exceedingly tedious, but they were to a large extent a period of actual misery. It seems that he was constitutionally more than many others a prey to sea-sickness. Throughout the whole voyage he had again and again to succumb to that disgusting enemy, calculated to destroy whatever there is of pleasure or interest in crossing the mighty ocean. But Mühlenberg's vital force, in addition to this aggravated malady, had to fight against sickness in another and more dangerous form. All the ordinary functions of the bodily organism were greatly disturbed, and he was so reduced that he had the strongest reasons to think that his end was near. His stomach had with dreadful obstinacy refused to retain any food. A drink of clear, cold, refreshing water was not to be had. The passengers one day had caught some mackerel, and

after having some properly prepared they brought it to Mühlenberg, who was laid up in bed. This morsel of fresh and digestible food he could enjoy, and it moved him to special gratitude toward God. One of the first things he did after passing, Sept. 22d, the fort in the harbor of Charleston, was to have some fresh vegetables brought on board; which to him and the Salzburgers proved quite a rare treat.

Bodily ills were, however, the minor part of the sufferings from which in that ship there was no escape. There was not one soul on board who was able to offer to Mühlenberg any social satisfaction or to enter with sympathy and encouragement into his religious views and feelings. It was some cause of satisfaction to him that in quiet hours he could join the Salzburger family on deck and sit with them singing the grand old soul-stirring church-songs, or pray with them or explain to them the precious words of the gospel and apply them to the peculiar circumstances under which all were placed, or instruct the children. But whilst he could give to them in divine things, their education and spiritual condition were not advanced enough to prove a benefit to him.

As to the rest of the society on board of the ship, the whole party was, without any exception, of a very indifferent character. There was not only the continuous use of profane language, but the principles, manners, enjoyments, tendencies of these people were so totally worldly and vulgar, and the standard of their education was so low, that not with one of them could Mühlenberg enter into a friendly exchange of sentiments and feelings. Occasionally better elements seemed to gain control over these men. But all of a sudden the wild, frivolous spirit broke out irrepressibly. The young merchant who was one of the company had for a time by his sedate behavior made a favorable impression upon Mühlenberg; but when, in consequence of an altercation, a boxing-match was arranged between two passengers, that young man was the most busy in giving a helping hand to the disgusting affair. When Mühlenberg reproached him on this subject, he answered that his only interest had been to see that all would be carried

out "in good Christian order." One of the passengers felt moved in a quiet evening hour to read to his companions a religious tract. Mühlenberg relates that they all felt very drowsy, and some fell asleep whilst the reading proceeded, but that after the recital had come to an end they were all very lively. That the entertainments which they used to while away the time, such as singing of worldly songs of a doubtful character, disputations, mock trials, and similar pastimes, were not to his taste needs no remark.

But it is a circumstance pleasant and instructive to read that Mühlenberg, who never held back his own principles and convictions, enjoyed not only the respect due to his official character, but indeed the high personal esteem of the whole ship's company, and especially of his fellow-passengers in the cabin. They soon found out what manner of man he was. The impressions they received from his way of speaking and acting and from his whole personality were of such a character that, whilst he could not bring about in the short space of time allotted to him and under peculiar trying circumstances, a desirable change of their principles and views, and could not prevent the natural outbreak of their unchristian spirits on many occasions, he nevertheless in various ways exercised a controlling influence over them. Not for a moment did he in word or deed put under the bushel his character as a Christian or as a minister and messenger of Christ. Perhaps some of the views advanced by him in his frequent conversations with the members of the society around him may to some appear to have been somewhat too rigoristic, too exacting. But his arguments against dancing, duelling—a duel with swords or pistols between the lawyer and the custom-house officer was already proposed, and only prevented by his interference—and against similar exhibitions of the natural man and his propensities, were of such practical convincing force that they were calculated to move the thoughts of his hearers in a different direction. Indeed, they have not lost their power at the present day. The judicious zeal with which Mühlenberg often, not without a happy gleam of genuine humor and

wit quite peculiar to him, approached the heads and the hearts of the motley company around him deserves all admiration.

It is a pleasant testimony to the esteem in which Mühlenberg was held by the captain and all the company on board of the ship that not officially, but actually, he performed the part of the ship's chaplain. He placed himself in this position, taking his own way. When, Sunday, July 4th, he had held service with the Salzburgers, and some of the passengers had taken a boat for Portsmouth, in the neighborhood of which the ship at that time was lying at anchor, Mühlenberg, being left alone with the captain and the rest of the company, requested that some one would read chapter xv. of the Gospel of St. Luke. After this was done he put the question as to what the meaning and import of these parables were. Every one gave his opinion, especially on the Prodigal Son. The captain's view, that he ceased to live a vicious life and adopted an honest and respectable course, was sufficiently and easily refuted by simply referring to the words of the context. The conversation having turned to the first part of chapter iii. of the Gospel of St. John, the captain asked what the words "water and spirit" here indicated. Mühlenberg elucidated this by referring to Num. xix.; Heb. ix.; John xix. 34, 35. Finally, the conversation drifted to the topic of predestination, which gave Mühlenberg an occasion to elucidate the Bible teachings on this point. The captain seemed to be well pleased, and the others also expressed their gratitude. When, on the following Sunday, Mühlenberg again held service with the Salzburgers, the captain and some of the Englishmen attended, though at a distance, and were apparently affected by the German singing. They felt urged also to do something for their improvement: one of them took his Book of Common Prayer, another the *Spectator*, another Fénelon's *Adventures of Telemachus*. Mühlenberg then took advantage of the opportunity to speak privately to the captain, and to remind him of his duty as a father to have a concern also for the spiritual welfare of all the souls entrusted to him. He told him plainly that on board of his ship not the least was

done for the edification of the people in the English language, and suggested that there were persons there who could read a chapter of the Bible or a printed English sermon, or could even sing a psalm, since they at least were called Christians. To this the captain simply answered with a sigh. A few days later Mühlenberg found a chance again to address himself to the passengers. They inquired what was the origin of the word "Protestant." He gave them a short sketch of the life of Luther and of the history of the Reformation, but finished by telling them that from the greatest to the least he could not call them true Protestants, but rather the reverse of this, since by their lives and behavior they protested against God and his holy Word, to the great injury of themselves. They admitted that in this he was right.

It is plain that if Mühlenberg wanted any office on board the ship, he did not use flattery as a means of ingratiating himself with them. But when, during the morning hours of Sunday, July 18th, he had again held religious services with the Salzburgers, in the afternoon the captain requested him to hold divine service with the whole company on the ship. To his answer that he did not feel himself sufficiently master of the English language, and was afraid of giving occasion of derision, the captain paid no attention. The lawyer was requested to read prayers from the Book of Common Prayer. The people were gathered together by the sound of the bell, prayers were read, and Mühlenberg delivered his first English sermon, the ship being his church, with the heavens as the dome over it, and the strangers around him his congregation, and as such attentive enough. When he was occasionally in want of a proper English word he gave it in Latin to the captain at his side, and he put it in English. If we should for a moment doubt whether the seed thus strewn upon those souls on the wide expanse of the ocean resulted in any good fruit, eternity alone will answer.

On every succeeding Sunday during the voyage Mühlenberg was requested to hold service in the English language for the benefit of the people on board the ship. He was also

expected to read the prayers, since the lawyer, who thus far had served as a lay-reader, in consequence of his general character no longer appeared the proper individual for the performance of that duty. Mühlenberg found no reason why he should not, under the peculiar circumstances in which he found himself, use the prayers which to the people of the Anglican Church were a rich source of edification. Service was usually held toward evening, when the oppressive heat somewhat diminished. The texts of his sermons he selected with a proper regard for the necessities of his hearers. Considering that the words of Ezekiel xviii. 27 are among the introductory verses in the Evening Prayer found in the Book of Common Prayer, and that his hearers so often had listened to them without properly appreciating their meaning, he spoke, July 25th, the sixth Sunday after Trinity, on those words, and was gratified to see the close attention of his auditory, but grieved to find that impressions received were not powerful enough to counteract the force of worldly habits and ungodly proclivities. His sermon had five parts. On three of these—viz. the meaning of the words "the wicked," the characteristics of wickedness, and the turning away from it—he had spoken. On the following Sunday the captain requested him to continue that sermon. Mühlenberg spoke on the two other parts, the turning to Christ and the walk and conversation of the converted. He noticed a considerable interest on the part of some of his hearers in the truth laid before them, and found it advisable on Sunday, Aug. 15th, once more to return to that text, especially to the concluding words: "He shall save his soul alive." On Sunday, Aug. 22d, he felt little disposed to preach again, since the behavior of his fellow-passengers had been rather discouraging to him. But the request having been made repeatedly, he resisted no longer, but preached on Matt. v. 3: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Sunday, Aug. 29th, he spoke on John vii. 33: "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink;" Sept. 5th, on Luke xviii. 9–14, the Pharisee and the Publican; Sept. 12th, on Heb. xii. 22–25; Sept. 19th, on

Ps. l. 5. But whilst trying to benefit those whom he could approach only in the English language, he was not neglectful of others, and held every Sunday forenoon special services with the Salzburgers.

In all this Mühlenberg was certainly doing a good work. But with these public and general services he was not satisfied, and therefore undertook, whenever occasion was given, to exercise special pastoral care in his intercourse with the diverse souls with whom God there had placed him. Even that unfortunate captive, the cook, who as a Spaniard was under the sway of his Roman Catholic views and traditions, was drawn by Mühlenberg into conversation. The cook complained that he had been greatly offended at London by the behavior of persons professedly belonging to the Anglican Church, and that the same had taken place on board of this ship: there was, he said, much more devotion observable on Spanish ships. Mühlenberg answered that he would allow him as a cook of good common sense to judge for himself. If, on the one hand, a wealthy gentleman of high position should furnish a room and in it a splendid supper, and decorate the wall with the finest paintings, and set out the tables with imitations in wood and stone of all sorts of viands, and command, under pain of punishment, his hungry and thirsty, blind and lame, healthy and sick subjects to come in, what benefit could these guests derive from all this splendid mockery? They would come out of the hall the same miserable, needy beings they were when they entered. Now, on the other hand, said he, the great King of kings has prepared a place where all the walls are hanging full of garments to cover the entire body, where the tables are laden with the finest bread, milk, wine, and other kinds of wholesome food, and where never-failing medicines are plentifully supplied to heal all diseases; and the King sends a proclamation that all his subjects are at liberty to come, no matter what their condition and social position, and receive all as a gift of free grace without any compensation. Mühlenberg wished the cook to judge for himself about the respective value of each

of the two arrangements. "In your Church," he said, "there are very splendid paintings and imposing representations, but the bread, the milk, the wine, the garments of salvation, the medicines, are not given to you: in the evangelical Church the substantial realities are placed before the people and freely offered to them. Of course there are those who thankfully accept of them, and are benefited for time and eternity; many others make no proper use of the grace offered to them and are heedless to their own loss." The cook found these comparisons perfectly comprehensible, but maintained that the Bread of life was not withheld in his Church from the people, and that the ceremonies they could count additional entremets. Mühlenberg intimated that Christ, the real Saviour of the world, was the only Bread of life—that his righteousness was the only raiment of honor in which alone a penitent and believing sinner can appear before God. The words which came from Christ's lips unaltered and unabbreviated, his Spirit operative through them, and the sacraments ordained by him, are milk and wine and unfailing medicine for our souls. Mary's soul and the souls of other saints are in the place allotted to them; the bodies are given to corruption, and their artistic representations are mere shadowy things in which there is no salt, no strength, no life. The cook thought that in his country such teachings would not be tolerated. Mühlenberg indicated as the cause of this that men loved darkness more than light and truth. The cook replied that in his Church all were united under one head, but that there were among Protestants as many diverging opinions as heads. Mühlenberg said that he could enlarge much on this subject; he would, however, briefly illustrate the matter by a comparison. The Roman Church was like a very large cemetery, extending over the whole earth, in which a large number of undertakers, gravediggers, pipers, etc. are entertained, and these dead ones bury the dead. In the cemetery all is quiet, peaceful, silent, but among the undertakers, gravediggers, pipers, etc. there is no end to parties, disputes, conflicts; and they long ago would have devoured one another

had not secular and worldly interests kept them under some control. The Protestant religion and Church, on the other hand, could be compared to an extensive, well-built hospital of many wards and rooms, all under one roof and full of innumerable sick people, suffering with all conceivable hereditary diseases and maladies, provided with many doctors, surgeons, assistants, nurses, attendants, and supplied with medicines and all possible means and instrumentalities to care for the sufferers. Of course there is in it no end of complaints, cries, murmurings, desires; the medicines also are often abused, and there are vitiated exhalations from the many sick, and disputes going on among the doctors, superintendents, and nurses. But all this is under perpetual control of an almighty, omnipresent, most benevolent, gracious, and merciful Head and Master who overrules all and exercises compassion. "Now say, dear cook, would you rather be dead than alive? Is not life sweet? Would you not rather live among the sick in the hospital, in hope of perfect restoration, than decay silently in the cemetery?" The cook said he hoped to be saved in the Church in which he was born. Mühlenberg told him that he, like all the children of Adam, was conceived in sin, born flesh of flesh, dead unto that which was good in the sight of God, and inclined to evil; that through holy baptism he was engrafted into Christ as the Tree of life, transferred into the kingdom of grace through the influence of the Holy Spirit, to the end that he should devote his life to Him who had died for him and risen again, and now sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. "Did you," asked Mühlenberg, "keep the sacred covenant of your baptism? Did you never willingly and purposely do wrong since the time your conscience has admonished you and told you of the distinction between right and wrong?" The man admitted that he had grievously sinned. To the question how he hoped to be released of his sins and be saved, he answered, "By intercessions and good works." He thought that a poor subject had little chance in his distress of being admitted to the king, but through a friend at the royal court he might obtain his object.

This comparison Mühlenberg considered as faulty in such aspect. Kings and their courtiers deserve all proper honor; they can prove a great help to their distressed subjects, but they cannot forgive sins: no one on earth save Jesus Christ has power to forgive sin. God's command is, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and serve him alone." The case was a clear one: a king may have thousands of poor suffering subjects: if every one of them required his own intercessor, the king would be obliged to have an equal number of courtiers; therefore a comparison between Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and an earthly potentate, is out of place; Christ knoweth all, and is gracious and full of compassion; there is with him no need of intercessors, since he himself intercedes for us with the Father. He invites all heavy-ladened, hungry, and thirsty souls, all sick and broken hearts, sinners and publicans, not to angels or to the Virgin Mary or saints, but to himself and to the Father; and there is salvation in no other name but his own. "As to good works," he said, "no one could rationally suppose that a gardener could offer to his master good apples or apricots when not even a seed or a tree is planted: from an unconverted man dead in sin we could as little expect works pleasing in the sight of God as grapes from thorns or figs from thistles." The cook said that all this he had pretty well understood, and intended with his prayers directly to go to Christ. Mühlenberg adds that the man proved to be very reliable and willing in the duties of his office, that he was kindly disposed toward the Salzburgers, and that nobody ever heard him use profane language, which of some of the Protestants on board could not be said.

The conversation with this cook has a peculiar interest for us. Not one of Mühlenberg's sermons has in its entire form come down to us. We have found in his manuscripts skeletons of such, which prove the faithful conscientiousness and zeal wherewith he attended to this important part of his pastoral duty. But we are perhaps not committing an error in considering his conversation with the cook as typical of the popular,

illustrative, argumentative, interesting method he used in addressing the people.

One thing is certain: no man could make better use of his time and opportunities than Mühlenberg did under discouraging circumstances during the tedious voyage across the Atlantic. With him theology was indeed not a possession of a certain compass of knowledge, but the *habitus* of the whole man. While others trifled away the precious days he was always ready and active in throwing out his net into the waters of the deep to catch souls and to bring them to Christ.

CHAPTER V.

1742 (*continued*).

Arrival at Charleston.—Mühlenberg's inquiries for the Germans there.—John Lederer, the German explorer of the Carolinas—Dutch Lutherans in South Carolina.—German settlers on the Congaree.—Mühlenberg meets negro slaves.—He sets out for Georgia.—Incidents.—Divine services on shore in a Presbyterian family.—Beaufort.—Arrival at Savannah.—James Oglethorpe.—John and Charles Wesley.—Methodism in contact with Pietism and Moravianism.—Thomas Stephens.—Rev. J. Chr. Gronau comes to meet Mühlenberg, and accompanies him to Ebenezer.—The locality.—Rev. J. M. Boltzius.—Rev H. H. Lembke.—Condition of the Salzburgers.—J. Fr. Vigera.—Donation of J. M. Kiderlin.

WHEN Mühlenberg (Sept. 23, 1742) was transferred in a canoe from the Georgia packet-ship, in which he had in his voyage across the Atlantic been imprisoned for about fifteen weeks, to Charleston, his first inquiry was whether he could find there any of his German countrymen.

The name of the German explorer John Lederer, a man of education, is for ever connected with the history of both Carolinas. He was sent out in the years 1669 and 1670 by Governor Berkeley of Virginia in three different expeditions to explore the lands south and west of the James River. At that time there were in North Carolina no white settlers. The whole extensive territory was in the undisputed possession of the Indians. On his second expedition Lederer—who was left alone with an Indian, as his English companions from lack of courage had forsaken him—found his way through the wilderness and the Indians, who sometimes treated him kindly, sometimes threatened his life, as far south as the Santee River, consequently into the very centre of the present State of South Carolina. When he returned to Virginia the envy of his former

companions deprived him of the credit due to his heroism. Governor Talbot of Maryland, becoming acquainted with him, translated Lederer's journal from Latin, in which it was originally written, into English, and published it. Thus the traveller's name and work were preserved, and contribute to the history of geographical discoveries.

Whilst John Lederer in 1670 broke through the wilderness, the first settlers, Englishmen, arrived in the south-eastern part of South Carolina on the island of Port Royal, near the present Beaufort, but settled a few months later, "for the convenience of pasturage and tillage," on the banks of the Ashley River, and laid the foundation of Charleston, several miles from the present city, which, situated on a peninsula between Cooper and Ashley Rivers, was on account of its healthier climate selected in 1680 as the more favorable locality by forty-eight families of the older settlement.

It appears that in the year 1674, after New Amsterdam (New York) had the second time been taken by the English, a number of Dutchmen, not satisfied with the change of circumstances, moved from the Hudson to South Carolina, and settled on James Island on the south-west side of Ashley River. There is enough historical evidence to prove that they were Lutherans, and there can be no doubt that they had been members of the Dutch Lutheran congregation, of which we know that a house of worship was erected by them about the years 1670 and 1671 in New Amsterdam, and that at the time when some of the Dutch Lutherans moved to South Carolina the Rev. Bernhard Anton Arens served the congregation at New Amsterdam. The Lutheran settlers in South Carolina in the year 1704 stood up energetically for their Lutheran creed and worship when an attempt was made to raise the Episcopal Church to the dignity of State Church in the province.

In what year the first Germans landed and settled in Charleston we are unable to say. We know that Queen Anne of England, upon whose good-will in the years 1708 and 1709 thousands of Palatine Germans, fleeing from the fearful miser-

ies of their native country and arriving near London, were thrown, set lands apart for them on the Hudson and also in Carolina. The land-grant in the latter province was on the Congaree River, and was far inland. Settlers intending to go there had to land at Charleston. The historical records on this point are too meagre to give us the desired information. But it is highly probable that some immigrants, arriving at Charleston and finding it a town of considerable mercantile activity, concluded to remain there. Certain it is that when the first Salzburgers on their way to Savannah arrived at Charleston early in March, 1734, they found there some Germans. And when in the following May the Rev. J. M. Boltzius, colleague of the Rev. J. Chr. Gronau at Ebenezer, with Baron von Reck, who had conducted the Salzburgers to their destination in Georgia, visited Charleston, and held religious services there with the German Lutherans, and administered the Lord's Supper to them, he in his report mentions that among their members there were two persons, husband and wife, who were from the Palatinate and took part in the celebration. It is very probable that other Palatines preferred to remain at Charleston and in its neighborhood, the lands on the Congaree being a hundred miles distant from Charleston, difficult of access, and exposed to hostilities from the Indians.

Mühlenberg tells us that after landing at Charleston he found two German families, who were satisfied with their outward condition, but complained that they were without religious services in their mother-tongue. Returning to the ship in the afternoon, he had no time to inquire for other German inhabitants of the town.

On the ship which had brought him safely from Europe Mühlenberg found two negro slaves. Here was a new object of solicitude. He entered into some conversation with them, inquiring whether they had any knowledge of the true God, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and of his Son the Saviour of the world. It pained him greatly that they were unable to answer. It seems to have made a peculiar impression upon him to meet so many colored people at Charleston.

He was informed that in this province there were fifteen negroes to one white man, and that they frequently rebelled against their owners and masters. He asks the question whether it would not occasion severe visitations because people pretending to be Christians had made their fellow-creatures and sharers in Christ's redemption slaves, and gained thereby advantages without taking care of their souls. Pointedly he adds: "This the coming times will show." He learned that some time before his arrival a few English inhabitants, awakened by the preaching of the Rev. George Whitefield, had undertaken to instruct some hundreds of their negroes in the Christian religion, but that the government, fearing that it might conduce to awaken rebellious feelings on the part of the slaves, had prohibited it.

The captain of the Georgia packet-ship, being bound by contract to convey Mühlenberg with the Salzburgers to Savannah, and desirous of staying for a few weeks with his ship at Charleston, made on that day an agreement with the master of a sloop to take them and the drummer to Georgia through the channels running between the islands along the shore. The evening of the same day Mühlenberg made use of to write letters to various persons in Europe, among them to his "sorrowing mother." The prospects were in those times that the letters, at least after the lapse of some months, would reach their destination.

On Friday, Sept. 24th, Mühlenberg and his small party took farewell of the ship that had carried them across the Atlantic. In company with the captain and the lawyer they were transferred to the Georgia sloop. The captain assisted them with some biscuit; other provisions they were obliged to procure themselves. That day they sailed eight miles. By the downward turn of the tide they were left without sailing water. Mühlenberg with the drummer, going on land and breaking through the woods, met with a house and some English people, who at first suspected them to be Spanish spies, but, soon learning that Mühlenberg was a minister of the gospel, rejoiced in showing them all possible kindness.

That Mühlenberg during the few days on board the sloop did not cease his pastoral work in his intercourse with those around him we, knowing the man, find very natural. There was on board an old man, an English trader, who used shockingly profane and even obscene language. After admonition had been given to him in a gentle way, and he had been reminded as a man advanced in years that he was near the day of reckoning for every wicked word that fell from his lips, he appeared to take a serious turn of mind and voluntarily confessed his besetting sins. But instead of taking the advice to flee for refuge to the Source of all grace and to beg forgiveness, he unfortunately took to the brandy-bottle to drown the trifling prickings of his conscience. The master of the craft showed a good understanding in spiritual things and a humble heart, and put questions on various things in which he was concerned, and was glad when Mühlenberg, avoiding useless disputations, gave him, starting with John iii. 16, the proper evangelical view of God's election.

Sunday, Sept. 26th, Mühlenberg, going on shore, found on a plantation a number of English people assembled to edify themselves by the Word of God. It seems that they concluded that he was an Episcopalian, and some remarks were made of a somewhat polemical character. But when he began to speak of Christ and of his merits as the only foundation of our salvation, and of his holy life, which we, in the exercise of humility, faith, love of God and all virtues, are to imitate, and when he expressed his conviction that all heresies and all disputations on points of religion had their origin and root in the corrupt heart of the fallen children of Adam, they showed themselves very kindly disposed, said they were Presbyterians, and begged him to explain to them some gospel text. He spoke on this occasion on Matt. v. 1, *seq.* They were quite well pleased, placed fresh provisions before him, and accompanied him to the sloop. His instruction to the Salzburgers he continued as circumstances permitted, and found special occasion to give to the parents some advice concerning the education of their children.

He records that during the night, Sept. 28th–29th, a high, cold north-west wind sprang up, and that even ice was formed. This occurrence, most probably very rare in that latitude, was painfully felt by the travellers, who in the open craft had to lie down on deck without the proper covering. But the cold proved a protection against the innumerable insects, the mosquitoes, which tormented those seeking rest. Mühlenberg says they had day and night to keep up a fire to create thereby, using suitable material, thick clouds of smoke, without which they could not have lived. On Thursday, Sept. 30th, they arrived at the small town of Beaufort, on the island Port Royal, the native place of the master of the sloop. Mühlenberg met with a very kind reception at the house of a godly man, the Rev. Jones, who spoke in high terms of the two pastors Boltzius and Gronau of Ebenezer. He also kindly sent bread and meat for his guest and the Salzburgers on board of the sloop which was to take them farther, a smaller vessel than the one which had brought them from Charleston. Meeting during the night with a trading vessel, the captain of the same invited them on board, placed some refreshments before them, and permitted them to sleep there a few hours. The following day they met with a peculiar phenomenon, the waters of the sea appearing elevated to the height of a steeple: it was probably a waterspout.

Finally, on Saturday, Oct. 2d, at 8 P. M., they arrived at Savannah. This place has for us particular historical interest. George II. of England (king 1727–60) June 9, 1732, had set apart the country between the Savannah River and the Alatamaha as the province of Georgia, and given its administration for twenty-one years into the hands of trustees as a corporation, holding it "in trust for the poor." Among these trustees, consisting of members of Parliament, inclusive of some bishops, as we formerly had occasion to state, was James Oglethorpe, whose name deserves to be kept in grateful remembrance, since he moved the Parliament in 1728 to take into consideration the disastrous effects of the law by which "each year in Great Britain at least four thousand unhappy

men were immured in prison for the misfortune of poverty, for a small debt exposed to perpetual imprisonment." He persevered in his philanthropic efforts till "from extreme misery he restored to light and freedom multitudes who by long confinement for debt were strangers and helpless in the country of their birth." And when Georgia was formally opened to the poor of all lands, even to Jews, "Papists" only being excluded, and others had given of their wealth, and the Parliament had contributed ten thousand pounds, Oglethorpe, who had seen military service and been present at the siege of Belgrade by the army of the renowned Prince Eugene of Savoy, assisted by the counsel and liberality of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," now embarked (1732) with one hundred and twenty emigrants for America, landed first at Charleston, S. C., then at Beaufort on Port Royal, and chose the high bluff on the Savannah River as the site for a new city. He entered into friendly relations with the Indians, lived for twelve months under a tent protected by four beautiful pines, and then in the city—if we may use this term—in one of those plain houses, all built after the same model, of unplaned boards. This man of sterling value was "the father of Georgia, and this the place of refuge for the distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe." We have already learned that under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel a number of the cruelly-persecuted Salzburger Lutherans came (March 18, 1734) to Savannah, where Oglethorpe bade them a friendly welcome. Soon they began with his personal assistance to build Ebenezer, twenty-four miles west of Savannah. In April, 1734, he sailed for Europe, won golden opinions for his new colony, and returned Feb. 6, 1736, with three hundred immigrants, among whom were a number of Moravians, now added to the nine brethren in the faith who had arrived already in May, 1735. Among his companions were also John and Charles Wesley, the latter serving him as his private secretary, well known as the Methodist hymnologist. His brother John, finding that for making much impression upon the In-

dian mind, as he had hoped to do missionary work among them, he and the times were not yet prepared, returned in the beginning of 1738 to England, where a larger field promised him greater success. But his intercourse with the Moravian Brethren helped him to view Christianity apart from Puritan and monarchical principles, and made him a more hearty evangelical Christian. The inwardness and subjectiveness peculiar to Pietism and the Methodistic energetic, aggressive spirit were to some extent united in him. Charles Wesley returned to England Jan. 17, 1737, with Oglethorpe, who had to make preparations for war with the Spaniards possessing Florida, since they opposed the settling of the English in Georgia. John Wesley, after having served his countrymen in the new colony as a pastor, returned to England in 1738, on the same day on which his great colaborer, George Whitefield, embarked the first time for America. The latter had it in his mind to establish an orphan-house after the Halle pattern in Savannah, and expected to receive aid for this charitable object in the mother-country. Having gone in 1739 to England to collect the financial means for his enterprise, after returning in the same year he laid the foundations of the institution, which he called Bethesda, near Savannah, but met with no success, and returned to England in 1741. On account of his rigoristic predestinarian views he for a time became alienated from the Wesleys, but paid five more visits to America, travelling as a great revival preacher through the provinces. He entered into his rest Sept. 30, 1770, at Newbury, Massachusetts.

The Moravians also met with unexpected difficulties in Georgia. It was one of their leading principles never to carry weapons of war or to engage in hostile combat. Exemption from military service had been granted to them by the trustees of Georgia, and when the conflict with the Spaniards began was continued at their request. But the populace, being indignant at such a privilege, proved troublesome to them. Therefore, already in 1738 some of them relinquished the plantations they had begun to cultivate, paid back all the money with which they had been assisted for

travelling and the first expenses of living in the colony, moved to Pennsylvania, and were followed to the same locality by the rest in the spring of 1740. In later years Moravian emissaries appear again in the neighborhood of Savannah and the Salzburg colony. German settlers we find between 1740 and 1750 at Frederica, on the island St. Simon, south of Savannah; they had organized a congregation, and Rev. Driesler and Rev. Zübly are mentioned as their pastors. Oglethorpe returned in the fall of 1738 to Georgia as a brigadier-general with military command and forces. The conflict between the English and the Spaniards now assumed larger proportions, until, about the middle of 1743, the latter, having suffered decisive losses, retreated from the Georgia frontiers. A year later Oglethorpe sailed for England, "never again to behold the colony to which he consecrated the disinterested toils of ten years." During the War of Independence he refused to serve as a commander against the Americans, with whose cause he sympathized, and when, after the conclusion of peace, the first ambassador of the United States of America arrived in London, he was among those who heartily welcomed him and offered their congratulations. He died July 1, 1785, at the age of eighty-seven years.

We may add concerning Georgia that the first laws for the government of the province prohibited the importation of slaves. But after a few years the prohibition statute was rescinded, since several of the so-called "better sort of people" in Savannah addressed a petition to the trustees "for the use of negroes." But the Salzburgers "deprecated in earnest memorials the employment of negro slaves, pleading the ability of the white man to toil under the sun of Georgia." Later, among them and the Moravians the keeping of negro slaves was tolerated, on the ground of their more humane treatment and for the purpose of Christianizing them. General Oglethorpe, well acquainted with the sad demoralizing influences of slavery, entertained a plan of a different character. He wanted the trustees to import at their own expense laborers from England and Germany who might

serve for a time, and thus repay in wages the outlay of their transportation and outfit. This plan the trustees never adopted.

After having landed, Oct. 2d, at 8 A. M., Mühlenberg paid his respects to Colonel Thomas Stephens, a gentleman in the service of the trustees and the first in authority at Savannah during the absence of Oglethorpe, who at that time had, on account of the troubles with the Spaniards, gone south. He proved himself at all times a friend to the Salzburgers, and now at once made liberal provision, not only for Mühlenberg, but also for the Salzburger family which had arrived with Mühlenberg, and consisted of father, mother, and three uneducated girls. He had a son of the same name, from whom he is to be carefully distinguished. This son, after having spent some time in Georgia, returned to England, and there published calumnies against the administration of Georgia by the trustees, and especially against the Salzburg colonists. His accusations were brought to the notice of the Parliament. The result of an official investigation was the complete refutation of his calumnies. Wednesday, July 11, 1742, he was brought before the bar of the House of Commons, obliged to kneel down, and was there publicly reprimanded by the Speaker. The Salzburger colonists, who in these years to a considerable extent depended on the good-will of benevolent friends in England and in Germany, had reasons to be thankful for this public indorsement of their good character and reputation.

The Rev. Gronau, sojourning at Savannah on that day, and intending to hold on the following Sunday divine service with the German settlers at Savannah, hearing of the arrival of Mühlenberg, at once went to the inn where Col. Stephens had meanwhile lodged him, and took him to the lodgings which a patron of high standing had placed at the command of the Ebenezer pastors whenever they visited Savannah. Services had to be held in private houses. The finest and largest building—not, however, situated in the town, but at some distance from it—was the Orphan-House, erected by George

Whitefield, and in the diary kept by the Ebenezer pastors in 1742 called "a princely castle." They say that it was unfortunately situated in a most sterile locality, where on five hundred acres of land, fenced in, subsistence for neither cattle nor horses, and not even good drinkable water, could be found. Under those circumstances the building and the whole institution were doomed to ruin.

Sunday, Oct. 3d, Mühlenberg heard two sermons preached in the morning and in the afternoon by the Rev. Gronau, and in the evening they held service in their own lodgings. Both of them proceeded on Monday morning on a small boat toward Ebenezer, meeting, however, on their way at various places with many obstacles—trees uprooted by the storms. At four o'clock in the afternoon they arrived at the so-called "Plantations," and viewed the flour-mill erected there by the Salzburgers and driven by water, the first of its kind in the whole province of Georgia. Thence they had about an hour's walk to Ebenezer.

When in 1734 the first "transport," as it was called, of Salzburgers landed at Savannah, they settled on a locality somewhat distant from the Ebenezer which Mühlenberg now came to visit. In the beginning of 1735 the second "transport" arrived and settled in the same locality, as it was ordered by the trustees. But it was soon discovered that the soil there was very little suited for agricultural purposes, and that the whole district was very miasmatic. The colonists suffered terribly from fevers. It became more and more apparent that without continued support from the trustees they could not be sustained there. In the beginning of the year 1736 they were permitted to quit that locality and to establish themselves in the neighborhood of what they called the "Red Mount," which, when compared with the giant mountains of the Alps, of which the Salzburgers had a mournful remembrance, little deserved that appellation. And here Ebenezer began to flourish, though fevers and other hardships were not wanting also in this locality. The former settlement returned into the hands of the trustees, and they transformed it into a

stock-farm to raise cattle. In Ebenezer in the year 1736 the third "transport" of immigrants was received. In 1739 a number of settlers began, with the permission of Oglethorpe, to cultivate the rich bottom-land on the neighboring Abricorn Creek, a locality afterward denominated "the Plantations." In 1742 a bridge was built across the creek running between the "town" and the plantations. In December, 1741, the fourth "transport" had arrived. Already, in the month of February of the same year, the erection of a regular church-building, at that time the first one in all Georgia, was undertaken, and its solemn dedication took place on the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity. At that time there was, with the exception of the two Ebenezer pastors, no regularly appointed pastor in the province. The Germans—of whom some were already settled in Frederica—in 1741 called a pastor, the Rev. J. U. Driesler, from the dukedom of Würtemberg, who, having sailed from London in Sept., 1743, arrived safely at Frederica, and entered upon his labors, but died a few years later. There was a sort of chaplain appointed by Whitefield in behalf of his orphan-house, but he could not be called a regular pastor. The pastors of the Salzburger congregation Ebenezer, Rev. J. Chr. Gronau and Rev. J. M. Boltzius, had been educated at the Francke institution and the University of Halle, had been employed for a time as teachers in the Orphan-House there, had joined the first "transport" at Rotterdam, and had not only the spiritual care of the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, but were the general counsellors of them, and, by order of the trustees, also at the head of the municipal administration. Among the settlers were a number not exiles from Salzburg. Gronau died Jan. 11, 1745, and was succeeded by the Rev. Hermann Henry Lembke, a graduate of Halle University. These men, all of the Halle type of Lutheran Pietism, were faithful servants of the Lord, unceasingly caring for the temporal and spiritual welfare of every individual entrusted to their care. They also mediated between the Salzburgers and the civil government, enjoyed the high respect of its representatives and the love and esteem of their flock, and exer-

cised a strict congregational discipline. It may well be asked whether without their self-denying labors Ebenezer would ever have been a success or could even have maintained itself in any manner.

That the settlers in those parts had to undergo not only much hard labor, but also many privations and disappointments, needs no explanation. The Indians, of whom there were in Georgia and the vicinity various tribes, proved troublesome at all times, but especially when they were at war among themselves, or when, as during the conflicts with the Spaniards, the government had to indulge them, fearing the corrupting influences of the enemies in the immediate neighborhood. Cattle, horses, and swine were exposed to the ravages of the wolf and the bear. Inundations damaged the newly-cultivated fields. Agricultural implements and other necessary mechanical appliances were wanting. Ploughs were first introduced in 1742.

But the energy and assiduous application of the settlers conquered all difficulties. Of course, assistance in various ways coming from the trustees in England and from friends in Germany, at the head of whom stood the venerable Urlsperger at Augsburg, were not only welcome, but in the beginning of operations indispensable. But the nerve and muscle of the settlers had, under the providence of God, to do the work. Trees were to be felled, lands to be cleared, fences to be erected, houses to be built, gardens to be cultivated, and the old and the young were as busy as bees. An orphan-house was established, in which, in January, 1742, four boys and eight girls were supported, and which often was used as a refuge for sick single persons, who there were properly nursed. To this orphan-house Whitefield—who was favorably inclined to the Salzburgers, though they disliked very much his ultra-predestinarian views and his Methodistic manner of converting sinners—had at one time contributed twenty pounds sterling, and in other ways shown himself a warm friend. Provision was also made for the schooling of the children of the colony as well as means and circumstances per-

mitted, and the pastors assisted in teaching. To the church erected in the "town" Whitefield presented a bell of eighty pounds weight. In the "plantations" a separate church was erected in 1742.

It is quite encouraging to read the reports the Salzburgers sent to old friends and to benefactors in Germany. J. G. Kocher, one of the settlers, who had arrived with the fourth "transport," says in a letter of Feb. 1, 1742: "I should be sorry to live one hour longer in Germany, for of the excellency of this country not the half was told us. We have here the most salubrious air, the very best water, all sorts of excellent fruits and vegetables, the very best soil, wherein I have thus far not met with one stone. To every one of us fifty acres of land was allotted, also land already prepared for giving a harvest this year. Adjoining my house is my garden, where I have sown some wheat and planted various vegetables, and also seven peach trees, which in this country bear much sweeter fruit than in Germany, and are just now literally covered with blossoms. I have not the language to depict all that God does for us in these things, and much more in spiritual things, for we have here two pastors, who, so to say, with hands, words, and hearts bring us before God and nearer to him." This is gushing language, but came from an honest heart. Various attempts were made to improve by new experimental enterprises the financial condition of the settlers. Among these were the planting of vineyards and the culture of silk, also, at a later period, that of indigo. Silk at first promised to become a staple product. A settler by the name of J. Fr. Vigera of Salzburg in Alsace, who had accompanied the fourth "transport" from London across the sea as a supervisor, and now lived in Ebenezer, took much pains to raise silkworms. A part of the Orphan-House was used for this purpose. From there fourteen pounds and fourteen ounces of raw silk were taken to Savannah in May, 1742, and paid at the storehouse with 2 pounds 19 shillings 6 pence sterling. Bancroft says that "in a few years the produce of raw silk by the Germans amounted to ten thousand pounds a

year, and indigo became a staple." The very changeable character of the climate offered, however, great obstacles to the success of silk-culture. J. Fr. Vigera, who had a commercial education and made himself in various ways useful to his fellow-citizens, was a great sufferer by the fever, and resolved in 1743, in compliance with the desire of his mother, who lived at his native place, to return to Europe by the way of Pennsylvania; he arrived there, but never returned to Europe. In Pennsylvania we shall again meet him.

That Mühlenberg had received and accepted a call to the Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania the brethren in Ebenezer knew already in May, 1742. At a later day they were informed that he would pay a visit to Ebenezer. We know that Ziegenhagen at London not only desired Mühlenberg to visit the Salzburg settlement, but expected Boltzius to accompany Mühlenberg to Pennsylvania to assist him in his first missionary efforts in organizing congregations.

At Ebenezer, Mühlenberg was received in the kindest manner. After first visiting Gronau's house, he was lodged with Boltzius. He did not come with empty hands. After handing over to Boltzius a letter of Ziegenhagen, he delivered a costly gift entrusted to him in Germany, and by him carefully guarded throughout his voyage—viz. a chalice of solid silver, but heavily gilt, to be used by the congregation at the administration of the Lord's Supper. Certainly, a welcome gift, coming from a friend in Germany, a godly young man of the town of Nördlingen, George Matthias Kiderlin, who on his death-bed in October, 1741, had ordered that out of various articles of silver in his possession this cup should be made by an artist and sent to Ebenezer. Now his request was fulfilled. That cup is still in the possession of that church, and from time to time, in agreement with the will of the kind donor, used for the sacred purpose for which he had intended it.

When, a few days later, the Salzburger family who had crossed the Atlantic with Mühlenberg arrived, they were

for the present lodged in the Orphan-House, and there all their necessities were attended to. Mühlenberg suffered during his stay at Ebenezer with attacks of fever, and, according to the medical theory then prevailing, was bled, and received from his colleagues and their families all possible kindness. He visited all places of particular interest—the Orphan-House; also, in company with J. F. Vigera, the ruins of old Ebenezer. He held, Oct. 8th, services at the "plantations" and in the church in the "town." In both places the members of the congregation were informed of Ziegenhagen's proposition, that Boltzius should accompany Mühlenberg on his journey to Pennsylvania, and there for a limited time assist him. We learn that the most intelligent members took a very sensible view of this plan, and though they would be deprived for a time of the services of a beloved pastor, they did not wish to resist the will of Providence. On Sunday, Oct. 10th, the Lord's Supper was celebrated, and among the sixty guests at the sacred table was Mühlenberg. At the conclusion of the last service of the day Boltzius addressed words of admonition and farewell to the congregation, and in his prayer laid the intended departure of Mühlenberg and himself before the throne of grace. There was much feeling among the assembly, and it was very apparent that the strongest ties of love and esteem bound the preacher to the people whose spiritual welfare, with other interests, was entrusted to his care. It was equally observable that Mühlenberg had during the days of his sojourn among the Salzburgers greatly endeared himself to them and to their pastors.

CHAPTER VI.

1742 (*continued*).

Benefit derived from the visit at Ebenezer.—Boltzius accompanies Mühlenberg to Charleston.—They hold religious services in their lodgings—Visitors from Purrysburg—Boltzius returns to Ebenezer.—Mühlenberg reads reports of Count Zinzendorf in Pennsylvania.—He is a guest of Mr. Theus.—Holds religious services with the Germans at Charleston.—Departure for Philadelphia.—Incidents and hardships of the voyage.

THERE can be no doubt that the visit at Ebenezer, though it was a short one, was of service to Mühlenberg in various and important ways. Here he moved the first time among a German-American congregation, cut loose from state influences and from control by the secular authorities in its inner life and management, governing itself under the guidance of two worthy pastors—men of fervid devotion to their office and of excellent Christian character. With them Mühlenberg, coming from the same school of piety and theology, viewing Christian life and the relation existing between the kingdom of Christ and the world surrounding it essentially as they did, could fully sympathize; and they, having already gathered the experience of years, could point out to him many difficulties to be expected and ways and means to avoid or to meet them. His intercourse with them could not but be profitable, instructive, and encouraging to him, and to some extent better prepare him for the task awaiting him in Pennsylvania. True it is that the "Salzburgers" offered a type of a congregation not frequently met with. But since they were no longer an *ecclesia pressa*, an oppressed, persecuted flock, their spiritual condition, as may be expected, had incurred many and great dangers.

Changes of outward circumstances are always a trial to the inner man. The Ebenezer pastors had ample opportunity to experience this in the fulfilment of their duties. To this must be added what we formerly alluded to, that the name "Salzburgers," as it is commonly used, included even at that time a considerable number of such characters as could neither geographically nor historically, nor in other respects, lay claim to it, but had settled at Ebenezer and become members of the Salzburger congregation. From the conditions under which congregations in America usually exist Ebenezer was totally exempt, in so far as there no other denomination was in any official way represented. Ebenezer knew at least in those years no other creed and no other service than the Lutheran.

Monday, Oct. 11th, was the day appointed for the departure of Mühlenberg and Boltzius. A goodly number of hours had passed before all had been said and arranged, when, in the presence of a large number of friends assembled on the memorable occasion, Boltzius concluded with prayer. Quite a large company went with the two departing friends from Ebenezer to the river, where the last words of farewell were exchanged under considerable commotion of heart and feelings. When they entered the boat which was to convey them to Savannah, Mühlenberg, whose melodious voice and fine musical taste served him excellently on many occasions of his life, struck up, all the company present at once joining him, the last verse of a well-known German hymn admirably suited to the circumstances of the hour, and expressing the sentiment that we Christians must follow our Lord and acknowledge him as our Captain even in times of trial, knowing that without the cross there is no crown. Little did Mühlenberg think that more than thirty years later he would once again stand on that very shore, return to Ebenezer, there to meet a few who would remember his first visit. Of that first visit the Rev. Gronau speaks in his diary in the following manner: "I hope the Lord will reunite and once more bless us. A more blessed season we never had at Ebenezer, for such special benefit he never before granted us, to lead to us

one of the dear friends in Germany—one who had loved us in spirit before he personally knew us, and whom we now can regard and esteem as a true friend and brother in Christ. I do trust that still closer ties will connect us. God in his mercy will help that through the preaching of the gospel many in Pennsylvania will be gathered, with whom we may be of one heart and one mind." Mühlenberg in his diary does full justice to the two brethren Boltzius and Gronau, and to their people, especially to their self-denying spirit and good-will toward him in permitting Boltzius to accompany him to Pennsylvania. He mentions especially that Boltzius had to expect on this journey many hardships and many dangers, owing to the approach of the winter and to the war, at that time making the sea and the coast unsafe; that he left at home a wife who was in a frail condition and two sick children, and that he did not know whether he would be able to return before the following spring or summer, since the Delaware River during winter was often frozen many miles in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. These and other weighty considerations Mühlenberg mentions, showing that he fully appreciated the kind service Boltzius was doing him. He deeply felt that to leave a congregation for such a length of time was, under all circumstances, fraught with danger, while it was exceedingly uncertain what success they might meet with in Pennsylvania. He says that he prayed God more clearly to reveal to them whether it were his will that Boltzius should go with him to Pennsylvania or not, even if the brother should have to return when but a portion of the voyage had been completed. These and other similar sentiments moved the heart of Mühlenberg when he, Boltzius, and another companion, during a quiet and bright night, glided in their boat down the waters of the river to Savannah, where they arrived early on Tuesday, October 12th. Of the farewell taken at Ebenezer, Mühlenberg says that it was a picture *en miniature* of a blessed departure from this world.

At Savannah the travellers were detained by unfavorable winds until Friday evening, Oct. 15th. Various attempts to

set sail were futile. Here already the impression was made upon Mühlenberg that it was perhaps not the will of God that Brother Boltzius should accompany him on this voyage. The same boat which had brought them down from Ebenezer was to take them to Charleston. Boltzius had for this purpose employed the services of a steersman and of rowers. A check in the possession of Mühlenberg could not be converted into money in Savannah; trade the merchants were willing to give for it.

Our travellers were happy, after leaving Savannah, to find without any further trouble one of the channels running between the coast and the numerous islands of that region. Sailing day and night with as little delay as possible, they arrived, Wednesday, Oct. 20th, at Charleston, where a part of the English fleet under Admiral Vernon, which upon the news of the attack of the Spaniards upon Georgia had speedily sailed thither, was at anchor. All the inns at Charleston were occupied by the soldiers. Mühlenberg and Boltzius considered it a favor that a female German innkeeper took them in, wishing to take advantage of them, but being satisfied with two shillings sixpence sterling per head a day. They, on their part, held daily morning and evening religious services, in which some Germans participated who had come from Purrysburg, a colony of Swiss people situated on the east side of the Savannah River, some thirty miles from the sea, and consequently only a few miles distant from Ebenezer. Encouraged by the promises of the English government, which for every one hundred effective men who would settle there agreed to pay four hundred pounds sterling and to give to them a gratuity of land, John Peter Purry of Neufchâtel, Switzerland, invited his countrymen, by sending most charming descriptions of the soil, climate, and government of South Carolina, to this province, and in November, 1732, one hundred and seventy of them arrived at Charleston, who not long afterward were followed by two hundred more. Forty thousand acres of land were allotted to the new colony of Purrysburg, the Indians having been driven off from that region. The

town was situated on the somewhat elevated banks of the river, and for a time promised desirable progress. The colonists had brought with them a pastor, Rev. Joseph Bugnion, who during his sojourn in England received episcopal ordination, had begun work at the colony, but had left it in 1735. There were some Lutheran families among the colonists, who connected themselves with the Ebenezer congregation, and were occasionally visited by their pastors. Going in 1734 to Charleston, Boltzius, taking his tour through Purrysburg, was very kindly received there, and testifies to the agricultural progress the colony had made during the two years of its existence. But it seems that by and by the inhabitants lost courage, and that a lack of strict social order was observable. Already before the War of Independence the colony was greatly reduced, and after many of the settlers had removed to other parts of the Carolinas came to an inglorious end.

The prospects of finding an opportunity of going by sea or land to Philadelphia were rather discouraging. The most experienced men said that it was too late in the season, and that the Delaware River would, on account of the ice, not be navigable. To go by land a distance of about nine hundred miles through a country without roads and bridges, through a wilderness and swamps, and to buy for such an undertaking horses of the needful strength and endurance, was not advisable. Indeed, the two brethren, Mühlenberg and Boltzius, were in perplexing circumstances. With money they were not superabundantly supplied, and every day helped to reduce the purse. Yet when, on Friday, Oct. 22d, the Ebenezer boat set sail to return, Boltzius could not make up his mind to leave Mühlenberg. But on the following day they resolved, after prayerful consideration, that Boltzius should no longer remain in this painful uncertainty, but return to his wonted field of labor. Mühlenberg was willing to wait a few weeks longer for an opportunity to reach Pennsylvania. If none would offer, he intended to return to Savannah, and thence to proceed to Frederica, there to serve the Germans in spirit-

ual matters until he could reach Philadelphia in the following spring.*

Boltzius, having bought a horse on the previous day, on Oct. 24th bade an affecting farewell, and, taking the route by land, departed for Ebenezer. Mühlenberg was now left to himself, a stranger, at Charleston. In the evening of that same day his thoughts were forcibly directed toward Pennsylvania. Accidentally two documents fell into his hands which called forth his serious attention. One was a printed report of seven conferences which Count Zinzendorf, under the pseudonym "Herr von Thürnstein," had held with his brethren in Pennsylvania, especially at Germantown, Philadelphia, and New Hanover. The other was a pamphlet giving an account of a disturbance which had taken place, July 18th of that year, between the Moravians on the one hand and the German Reformed and the Lutherans on the other, at Philadelphia in front of an "old butcher-shop." As we shall have an occasion to hear more of this, we do not now enter upon the circumstances to which that publication referred, but simply add the remark Mühlenberg here makes in his diary: "Such gourds of wild vines enabled me to see from afar death in the pot (2 Kings iv. 39, 40), and to realize the serious nature of my call thither."

On the following day a Swiss painter, Theus, moved by Christian charity, invited Mühlenberg to his house and provided for him. About that time an Englishman who intended to take the land-route to Pennsylvania arrived, and would have been glad to have had a companion, but honestly advised Mühlenberg not to undertake that expensive and very laborious journey. Mühlenberg was obliged to wait for further opportunity, but made, however, very good use of his time by giving instruction to some children. He also wrote letters to Ebenezer and to various individuals in Europe, continued

* Mühlenberg in his diary refers here to a report of the death of the Rev. J. U. Driesler at Frederica. There must be a mistake in this matter, since Driesler did not arrive at Frederica before the year 1744, and died there at the end of 1746 or in the beginning of 1747, as appears from a letter of Ziegenhagen of London, dated May 24, 1747.

his diary, and on Sunday, Oct. 31st, the memorial day of the Reformation, he twice held service in the German language in his lodgings, and, seeing that English-speaking people also were desirous of his attention, repeated the substance of his sermon in English. He again preached twice on the following Sunday. He was moved by pity for the Germans, who there appeared to him like sheep gone astray, every one turning to his own way (Isa. liii. 6). There is a vague report that in 1752 the first pastor of the Lutherans, Rev. Mr. Luft, arrived at Charleston. We know, however, that about the year 1755 or 1756, Rev. John George Friederichs arrived at Charleston and gathered the Germans into a congregation, and that "in 1759 they began to build a house of worship themselves," having before this been hospitably treated by the French (Huguenots) and permitted to worship in their sanctuary.

Hearing, Nov. 1st, that a sloop carrying one mast had arrived from Philadelphia, and would return in a few days, Mühlenberg at once inquired about it, but was strongly advised not to sail on that frail vessel in such a boisterous season of the year and when there was so much fear of Spanish privateers. Downcast in spirit, he went to his lodgings, retired into solitude, and humbled himself in fervent prayer before the throne of grace, and, considering that he was intended not for Charleston or Frederica, but for Pennsylvania, remembered the saying of that East India missionary, Zeglin: "Shall death be my lot, here I am, my God. Is it thy will that I should live, into thy hands I give my soul." On the following day he went to Captain Child of the Philadelphia sloop, and though told by him that he was unable on his small craft to offer the slightest comforts, that there was only one cabin, just sufficient for himself to creep into, and it was out of his power to accommodate him in any other way, Mühlenberg paid at once three guineas for the passage, bought for four guineas a bed and provisions, and received orders to be on board on the 12th of November. On that day he took farewell of his host, who had shown him much

kindness, and embarked in the sloop, which set sail, and, the wind being contrary, anchored in the evening opposite the fort.

Among the nine persons on board of the sloop was an English gentleman who urged Mühlenberg to visit with him the fort, the commander of which politely invited them to supper. And here we take pleasure in recording an incident which is calculated to give us an insight into the amiable character of Mühlenberg. During the supper the sound of a well-known German church-melody reached his ear from a distance. To his inquiry about it the commander answered that some time before he had bought a number of German servants from the ship which had brought them over—that now they were serving him for a number of years, and were employed as "constables" and for work in the house and on the farm. He formerly had done military services in the Netherlands, felt a love for the Germans, and had learned many words of their language. These servants, he said, had at first often quarreled among themselves, and used rather rough and profane language. After having been reprimanded by him they lived harmoniously together, sang and prayed, and proved obedient and faithful in service. He intended hereafter to allot to each of them a piece of land, provided they would remain faithful to the end of the time of their engagement. Mühlenberg continues in his diary: "I forgot the supper and begged permission to see those Germans. A servant, carrying a lantern, led me down into a vaulted room, where I found twenty-three men sitting in a circle, with their heads uncovered, their hands folded. As soon as they learned that I was a German preacher of the gospel they leaped up; one, two, or three at a time as they were able, embraced me, cried for joy, and begged me to stay with them, or, if this were impossible, at least to give them a word of comfort. I answered that to stay with them was impossible, but since they were twenty-three I would explain to them the twenty-third Psalm, pray with them, and, if they would send one of their number with me to the sloop, I would leave with them a book as a

remembrance and for their edification. After having briefly explained to them the twenty-third Psalm and prayed with them, I took an affecting farewell, and once more recommended them to their one Lord and Master, who had bought them with his blood, beseeching for them the efficacious influences of the Holy Spirit. On my return to the commander I thanked him for his kindness, recommended the German servants to his kind protection, took with me on my return to the sloop one of these Germans, and as a remembrance sent to them the sermons of the Rev. Mr. Schubert on the Sunday Gospels, giving them written advice on the front page how they might use the book for the edification of their souls." What a warm sympathy and interest for the welfare of his countrymen, what a missionary spirit, is here exhibited!

After the sloop had entered upon the high seas the voyage became exceedingly rough. The small craft was terribly tossed up and down by the waves. Such sailing Mühlenberg had never experienced. Sea-sickness occasioned him the greatest discomfort. The winds were violent and chilling. There were some among the crew who had just been released from captivity by the Spaniards. Their profane language made Mühlenberg's hair stand on end, but his admonitions, given as long as he was able to do so, were of no avail. On Nov. 16th the storm became more violent and the rain poured down in torrents. The sloop, being open on all sides, in going up and down on the waves shipped and unshipped large quantities of water. To protect himself against the cold, Mühlenberg put on all his clothing available for this purpose and laid himself down in the cabin, where the captain had allowed him to repose. He was finally exhausted by sea-sickness, too weak to rise and unable to eat or to drink. In the night the men who had been prisoners of war, cold and wet as they were, pressed into the cabin, laid themselves down to save their lives around and even upon him "like herrings," while he willingly excused them and only wished that they would cease cursing and swearing. On the following days,

he says, the sloop seemed to be more below than above the water, so that every garment was made soaking wet. To Mühlenberg's petition to be put ashore the captain gave no ear. In addition to all this terrible misery the vermin were under these circumstances particularly troublesome. The very thought that the sloop would go to the bottom of the sea had, under such distress, an element of comfort and relief for Mühlenberg.

However, there is an end to all misery on earth. On Nov. 19th the storm abated and the sun sent forth its welcome rays. Mühlenberg was able to relish a cup of coffee and sit up in bed, which gave joy to the captain. Saturday, Nov. 20th, they saw the "promontory of Pennsylvania," to which province at that time the parts now forming the State of Delaware belonged. In the evening the anchor was cast near Lewestown. On Sunday, Nov. 21st, Mühlenberg, at the request of the captain and his other companions, addressed them, sitting on his bed, since he was too weak to stand, on the first part of Matt. v. On the two following days he was by degrees able to rise. The provisions which he bought at Charleston, and some of his under-clothing, he distributed among the poor suffering sailors.

And now we see that sloop to which the life of the future patriarch of the Lutheran Church of America had been entrusted, and which in spite of storms, billows, and Spanish privateers had, under God's providence, brought him safely hither, quietly sailing up the Delaware Bay and River. There Mühlenberg's eye rested on the level shores of New Jersey, continually approaching nearer, and on the wooded hills of the western shore, here and there dotted with houses and the smoke of many a fireplace curling up into the air. All was quiet and serene. Our traveller's heart, soon forgetting the fearful trials, dangers, and miseries of the past days, rejoiced in the goodness of God, who had brought him hither, and in whom he trusted for the future, not knowing what it might bring forth. He now passed here and there farms and dwellings of Swedish Lutheran settlers, and, coming nearer to Phil-

adelphia, Tinicum Island, on which, just about one hundred years before, the first Lutheran house of worship in the New World had been erected.

Thursday, Nov. 25, 1742, at eight o'clock in the morning, the sloop arrived at its place of destination. Mühlenberg set his foot the first time upon the field of labor to which he was providentially called. There Philadelphia stretched out on the high shores of the noble river, opposite an island which divided the sheet of water, a mile in width. There were not many stately buildings to be seen, no tall church-towers rising in the air, no paved streets, no monuments telling of bygone days and men. Everything had a plain, Quakerish appearance, with ample room for a large city in the future. But it was a busy place. And now one had arrived who in all this traffic, in all the gains and losses, hopes and fears which moved many a heart, had no interest, but whose mission it was to care for the immortal souls of his brethren in the faith. And to him also Philadelphia proved in years to come a busy place. With true "brotherly love" in his heart, he was fully prepared for the task awaiting him.

CHAPTER VII.

1742 (*continued*).

Mühlenberg's fitness for his life-work.—His mental frame and physical condition.—Peculiar character of his field of labor.—Political condition of Pennsylvania since the times of William Penn.—German settlers near and in Philadelphia.—Political influence of the Quakers.—Mixed population of Pennsylvania.—Count von Thürnstein.—Val. Kraft and the German Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia.—Mühlenberg sets out for New Hanover.—Preaches there, and presents his pastoral call.—Preaches at New Providence (Trappe).—Meets Val. Kraft at Philadelphia.—Preaches there.—Peter Kock.—Henry Schleydorn.—Mühlenberg acknowledged as the legitimate pastor at New Hanover, New Providence, and Philadelphia.—Rev. Pet. Tranberg.

AT the time (Nov. 25, 1742) when H. M. Mühlenberg arrived at Philadelphia he had just ended the thirty-first year of his age, and, though suffering from the consequences of the terrible sea-voyage from Charleston to Pennsylvania, was in the prime of life and vigor of health. We shall have ample opportunity to see that, next to a good Christian heart, a clear, practical head, and an energetic will, he needed a very robust bodily constitution and an unusual amount of vitality to enable him to undergo all the risks of health and life to which he was exposed and to satisfy the heavy claims made upon him in his sphere of missionary work. And a missionary he had to be, and he was, in the full sense of the term. For this peculiar office in the kingdom of God on earth he was eminently well qualified, not only by the sincere and warm piety of his heart, by his exemplary walk and conversation, by his general education and his theological attainments, and by his remarkable talent as a linguist and as a public speaker, but by the whole composition of his mental framework. There was a certain magnetism about

him which everywhere won for him the good-will and attachment of right-minded people. He could easily enter into the feelings and ways of thinking of individuals of all grades of society. While he was humble in his bearing and perfectly gentlemanly in his intercourse with others, he never flattered, and never forgot or allowed others to forget his official character or his personal dignity. He felt keenly ingratitude and malignity on the part of those to whom he had been a benefactor, but the most harassing experience of this kind never soured his unselfish, charitable disposition. With his uncommon common sense and his penetrating insight into all sorts of characters there was united a certain humorous element calculated to protect him from pessimistic views of men and life, to which many severe trials and experiences in this New World might otherwise have led him. Cheerfully he underwent the heaviest tasks, never losing courage and never getting tired. Day after day he walked before God, and his strong and child-like faith in a *providentia specialissima* supported him. He reaped from his Christian convictions throughout all vicissitudes of life, in the exercise of his arduous duties, the richest harvest.

As to his external appearance, we know that he was of a robust frame, medium height, broad-shouldered—when in a standing attitude, at least in advanced years, slightly inclined forward. In his face we observe a certain openness, a pleasant smile, not without the traces of wit and humor, while his forehead indicates no less than his eyes that happy common sense which, blended with his kindness and energy, could not fail to put him in the front rank of those with whom he came into contact, and enabled him to master the situations in which he was placed. Thus pictures which have come down to our times present him to us. All depict him in the clerical attire, which, added to the well-fashioned wig, according to the style of those times encircling his head as a terrestrial halo, gives to the face a dignified and reverential character. We are told that his voice, a tenor, was very melodious and had a clear ring. That he made very good

use of it and of his musical attainments in his home-life and official activity, many incidents on record bear witness. When Mühlenberg arrived in Pennsylvania, henceforth the chief field of his labors, he was experienced enough under all circumstances to assert his manhood and to exercise an independent judgment, and young enough to adapt himself to totally new circumstances and a state of society the very opposite to that to which he was accustomed in his native country. There, all official relations were regulated by the representatives of the civil government, and with them rested the main responsibility; here, Mühlenberg was thrown much more upon his own resources. There, too, office as such gave weight to the incumbent; here, the incumbent had to magnify the office. There, the commonwealth with such thorough control led the Church and the congregation; here, every congregation was, at least at the time of the arrival of Mühlenberg, a totally independent private association, acknowledging no higher ecclesiastical authority and exclusively governing itself. There, society was, since time immemorial, divided into classes, some of them enjoying great prerogatives and privileges; here, the principle of social equality was carried out to a very large extent, and all claims of higher education and standing made little impression. The individual had only as much social influence as others were inclined or willing to give and allow. Mühlenberg had ample occasion to find out how far the sentiment was actualized which William Penn, when he became Proprietor of his province of Pennsylvania, in a letter of April 6, 1681, expressed to its inhabitants: "You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free and, if you will, a sober and industrious people." Concerning the affairs and condition of the Church, as he here found them, Mühlenberg in his diaries and correspondence frequently refers to the fact that in Germany it was *ecclesia plantata*, here *ecclesia plantanda*.

Mühlenberg arrived in Pennsylvania sixty years after William Penn's first visit to his province. It is stated that about

the year 1688 there were in all the original twelve provinces —Georgia formed then a part of the Carolinas—possibly two hundred thousand white people. It is also stated that prior to the year 1721 no less than fifty thousand foreigners, especially Germans, had emigrated to Pennsylvania. The condition of this province was a happy one. The relation with the Indians, owing to the philanthropic spirit and the wise tactics of Penn, continued a pleasant one for many years. Troubles of a more serious character began in the years 1730–40. The war between England and Spain endangered to some extent the peace and the progress of the English colonies in America. In 1744 war was declared between England and France. The French claimed possession of Canada as New France, and made effectual efforts to establish themselves on the Ohio and Alleghany Rivers. Both English and French endeavored to make allies of the Indians, and each sought to buy their services. In Pennsylvania the Indians felt themselves wronged by the manner in which on some occasions they were treated. When they became troublesome, preparations to defend the province in case of need seemed necessary. Eastern Pennsylvania was then settled to a considerable extent. Towns were building west of the Susquehanna in the direction of the present Adams county, toward the Maryland frontier. The question concerning the boundary-line between Maryland and Pennsylvania during the years 1730–40 had caused bloody conflicts and legal difficulties. It was not finally settled until 1763 by the royal engineers Mason and Dixon, whose name it still bears. Lancaster county, formerly belonging to Chester county, was organized into a separate district in 1729, and Lancaster city was begun in the following year. A short time afterward settlers were found near the Susquehanna in the direction of the present capital of the State. It is a well-known fact that immigrants coming from the shores of the Hudson and the Schoharie Rivers in the province of New York had occupied lands watered by the Swatara and the Tulpehoken. Settlements, especially of Germans, were found before the middle of

the last century in the districts adjoining the Schuylkill, the Lehigh, and the Delaware Rivers and their tributaries in Southwestern Pennsylvania. There was some sort of a road then between the Upper Delaware and the Hudson and terminating near Kingston. Of course roads were in those days generally of a very primitive character. There were no bridges spanning the rivers, but here and there privileged ferries, and farmers were obliged often to travel many miles to find a mill. During the winter communication between New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore ceased sometimes through weeks.

When William Penn came up in a boat from Upland—which name he changed into Chester—and landed, Oct. 27, 1682, where now Philadelphia stands, he found there, on land bought from some Swedish settlers, a few very primitive houses. Some settlers even at a later time took refuge in the caves which had been dug out at a much earlier period by Indians in the high embankments of the Delaware. All the land was covered with primeval forest. Horses lost in the thicket were sometimes not found for many days. It is said that in 1685, Philadelphia numbered some hundreds of houses and a corresponding population, consisting essentially of Quakers. In 1683, Germans under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius laid the foundation of Germantown. In Philadelphia a school was opened in the same year; in 1686, Bradford first used his printing-press. The first paper-mill was erected at Wissahickon, near Philadelphia, in 1690 by Rittinghuysen, the father of the celebrated astronomer. The State-House—now better known as Independence Hall—was erected between 1729–73, but was without its tower when Mühlenberg arrived. At that time the streets of the city were not yet paved. Systematic efforts in this direction did not begin before 1753. Westward the more fully built-up parts of the town extended to Fifth street between Mulberry and Walnut streets, while here and there, at greater distances, some houses were found in other directions. At that time the town contained about thirteen thousand inhabitants, and could hardly be considered what we now call a city. Yet

it was in a commercial point of view then a much more important place than New York.

The administration of public affairs in Pennsylvania was from Penn's time essentially in the hands of Quakers. They formed largely the council of the lieutenant-governor and greatly predominated in the Assembly, and during times of peace the Quaker government, though not of a progressive character, was on the whole satisfactory. It was economical and honest. The interests of the governor, who was a representative not only of the Proprietaries, but also of the English Crown, naturally did not always coincide with those of the Quakers, and the relation between the two authorities had for some time not been of a pleasant character. But when the clouds of war arose on the provincial horizon the principles maintained on each side came into serious conflict.

In May, 1746, the government in England thought the conquest of Canada indispensably necessary for the security of its possessions in America. The American provinces were expected to send their quota of soldiers for this purpose. Anything directly in aid of warlike preparations the Pennsylvania Quaker Assembly, true to their moral and religious principles, positively refused. After considerable delay, under the pressure of popular excitement, these non-resistants in the previous year had voted "four thousand pounds to John Pole and John Mifflin, trustees, to be laid out for purchase of bread, meat, wheat, flour, and other grain for the king's service, as the governor shall think best." The governor took the "other grain" in the sense of gunpowder. But when, in 1747, Spanish and French privateers entered the Delaware, took some prizes, and threatened the houses, villages, and towns on the shores, and the majority of the Quakers in the Assembly again refused to take decisive measures of defence, the Quaker policy and régime in Pennsylvania could not much longer escape their doom. Other elements, best represented by Benjamin Franklin, by and by moved into the foreground.

The population of Pennsylvania was at that time a very mixed one. There were Swedes, found in West Jersey, but

also on the shores of Pennsylvania along the Delaware from Trenton down to the "Lower Counties," now forming the State of Delaware, and Swedes had settled on the Neshaminy and had passed up the Schuylkill as far as the present Pottstown and the Manatawny Creek, and some miles above it. The Quakers of England were strongly represented in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, in Chester and Bucks counties, and in the present State of Delaware. Immigrants from Wales were found in divers localities, especially as servants or tenants of owners of large tracts of landed estates. Other representatives of the English dominion, especially Scotch-Irish, were about the middle of the last century settled west of the Susquehanna, toward the frontiers of Maryland, and in the western portions of the present Lancaster county and in neighboring parts. Exceedingly strong in South-eastern Pennsylvania was the German and Swiss-German element. It was intermixed with a sprinkling of French Huguenots, who, on account of their being persecuted as Protestants, had fled from France, and had first taken refuge in the Palatinate, and then with the Palatines had emigrated to Pennsylvania. Decidedly the strongest contribution of immigrants up to the middle of the last century had come from Germany, and especially from the shores of the Upper Rhine and adjacent parts. We read that in 1752 Pennsylvania had, out of one hundred and ninety thousand white inhabitants, ninety thousand Germans. It is impossible to estimate the number of Indians and of colored people—many of the latter slaves—in those times living in Pennsylvania. Three years later the white population had increased, especially under the influence of continuous and powerful immigration, to two hundred and twenty thousand, the half of whom were Germans. Some individuals belonging to the English stock felt considerable concern about this increasing percentage of the German element in Pennsylvania. There was no cause for alarm. Pennsylvania proved, as Penn had intended it, a refuge for those who in Europe had suffered persecution on account of their religious tenets. Here the Quakers of England and other

dissenters found a peaceful home, and also the various shades of Christian belief, which in those times, exclusive of the Romanists, were represented by Reformed and by Lutherans, and by parties opposed to both those traditional churches—the Mennonites and kindred fragments, the Inspired, the Schwenkfelders, the Gichtelians, and others. At that time there were in Pennsylvania about two thousand Romanists, and also some Israelites. Numerically, the Lutherans were the strongest party. While all these were of absorbing interest to Mühlenberg, and opened to him a very extensive field for missionary work, he had a direct and special call to three congregations, and it was his first care to present himself to these.

When he arrived in Philadelphia he had, as it appears, no recommendation to any individual family or business-firm of the city. This clearly indicates how little connection there was at that time between the Old and the New Worlds. However, we think that it would not have been difficult in London to have procured for him an introduction to some one, which might have been of value to him. As it was, he found himself now a total stranger in Philadelphia. He had, probably at Ebenezer, heard of a druggist, John Andr. Zwiefler, who had settled in Philadelphia. After having deposited his baggage in an English inn he inquired for him. Zwiefler, whose native country was Hungary, had reached Georgia in 1734 with the first Salzburger "transport;" for a time served the Ebenezer people as physician and druggist; Sept. 6, 1736, declared his intention of returning to Europe; lost his wife Oct. 6th of the same year, her constitution having been ruined by long-continued fevers; Feb. 20, 1737, for the last time partook of the Lord's Supper at Ebenezer; left there March 7th; passed through Charleston; came to Philadelphia; and was found here by Mühlenberg, Nov. 25, 1742, a member of the Moravian congregation organized there the same year by Count von Thürnstein, alias Count von Zinzendorf. The count had arrived in November, 1741, in New York, and on the 24th of the same month in Philadelphia. Here he had introduced

himself as having ecclesiastical authority over the Lutherans in the province, and had influenced a number of German Lutherans, who were without a pastor, to give him a call to their congregation. The call was in Zwiefler's handwriting. Mühlenberg was kindly received by this man, and in answer to his inquiries about the German Lutherans was informed that the most spiritual, and indeed the majority of them at Philadelphia, had joined Zinzendorf, and that the rest of them had given a call to a certain old preacher, John Valentin Kraft, who, after having been dismissed from his charge in the dukedom of Zweibrücken in Germany, had come hither. Such news was not encouraging to Mühlenberg, and could hardly induce him to begin his operations at Philadelphia, where the German Lutheran elements were already absorbed by two competitors. We remember that of Zinzendorf's efforts to change the German Lutherans at Philadelphia into Moravians, Mühlenberg had received some knowledge on his second visit to Charleston, S. C. He was, however, by no means willing to give this part of the field of labor to which he had been called into the hands of others. He rented a room in the house in which Zwiefler lived, since no other could be found, and returned to the English inn where he had first entered, and inquired of the innkeeper about New Providence and New Hanover, the two congregations which, together with Philadelphia, had sent petitions for a pastor to Europe. The innkeeper, not knowing those localities, called in a German from the country who was there at that time, but had his residence at New Hanover. His name was Philipp Brandt. He told Mühlenberg that it was useless to inquire about those places with those names, since New Providence was much better known by the name of Trappe, and New Hanover under that of Falkner Swamp. He also gave information of the fact that the Lutherans at the latter locality had "hired" as a preacher N. Schmidt, whose profession was that of a quack doctor and dentist: the latter branch was in those days essentially restricted to pulling teeth in some way or another. Brandt intended the same evening to return to his home, in spite of

the distressing condition of the roads. Mühlenberg had his baggage transferred to his rented room, and though, in consequence of the suffering during the sea-voyage from Charleston, still enfeebled and swollen, set out on a hired horse with Brandt, and lodged over night with a German innkeeper ten miles from Philadelphia, where some Germans, in conversation with each other, said that "the old parson, Valentin Kraft, had been accepted at Philadelphia, Germantown, and Trappe."

Friday, Nov. 26th, Mühlenberg and Brandt continued their journey in company with some other Germans. They were obliged to cross two creeks, Schippach and Perkiomen. From the latter, which was so swollen that Mühlenberg's small and feeble horse sank in up to the breast, he extricated himself, though not without danger to life and limb. He was then, at the beginning of his missionary career in Pennsylvania, reminded of a frequent saying of good old Pastor Sommer of Schortritz in Anhalt: *Credo Providentiam.* Riding along ten miles farther in the dark night, Mühlenberg and Brandt arrived at the latter's house in New Hanover, where Mühlenberg met with a kind reception and was hospitably provided for—a special blessing, since he had contracted a severe catarrhal fever. On the following morning Brandt took him still farther into the country, to one of the deacons, where in the afternoon four elders and two deacons held a meeting. Brandt read to them the letter of Ziegenhagen. He had received in Germany a commercial education, was well informed in matters of religion, and led a good Christian life in humble circumstances until, under the kind spiritual care of Mühlenberg, after protracted sickness, he departed in peace, having attained to somewhat more than fifty years. Some of the men assembled on that occasion said that Schmidt's services were already engaged, but that they would not oppose Mühlenberg, neither show disrespect to Ziegenhagen's letter, provided the members of the congregation were satisfied. They thought, however, that one pastor could not well serve the three congregations, New Hanover

being thirty-six miles distant from Philadelphia, the roads in winter very bad, and two creeks increasing the difficulty. Others thought that Mühlenberg should come to an understanding with Kraft, so that Kraft should serve Philadelphia and the neighboring Germantown—Mühlenberg, New Providence and New Hanover, or *vice versâ*. Mühlenberg said that his call excluded Germantown, and was directed to the three other congregations as long as they did not refuse him. They saw a difficulty in the connection already formed between Kraft and the congregations at Philadelphia, Germantown, and New Providence. Mühlenberg, allowing things to rest for the present moment, asked that he might be permitted to preach the following day, the first Sunday in Advent, and that Schmidt also should be notified. He closed the meeting with prayer, and remained in the deacon's house, where he learned through private conversation that the congregation was in a confused, dismembered condition. Some were attached to Schmidt, others had separated themselves from it on his account; some had withdrawn from the congregation at an earlier period, and were unwilling to have anything to do with churches or parsons; some had acceded to Zinzendorf's new arrangements, and many others had lost all faith. "Poor consolation!" exclaims Mühlenberg in his diary. It required courage and faithfulness under this first experience in the field of labor to which he was called to triumph over the difficulties.

On the following day a number of people came to the deacon's house, where a Jew kept a store, and began to traffic and to barter without the least regard for the sanctity of the day. The Jew was involved in a difficulty with a cabinetmaker, a member of the congregation, and the matter was expected to end in a lawsuit. Mühlenberg acted as a peacemaker. His efforts to reconcile them were crowned with success, and they forgave each other, as they said, "out of love for him." To the Jew, Mühlenberg gave a special lesson on account of his offensive language, but he suggested that Mühlenberg did not yet know the manners of this country.

At 9 A. M. Mühlenberg, with the deacon, rode on horseback to the church, a log building not finished within. Men and women came to the place of worship on horseback. Schmidt also came, and took his seat with Mühlenberg, who unreservedly told him that he now intended to preach an inaugural sermon, with the view of relieving Schmidt of his office. Schmidt behaved politely, and said that he did not intend to offer any objections. Mühlenberg's text was 2 Cor. v. 19, 20. The remembrance that just a year before he had preached his farewell sermon at Grosshennersdorf peculiarly affected his feelings.

After the service Mühlenberg read to the congregation the call and instructions he had received from Ziegenhagen, as the elders and deacons had requested. In the afternoon, as different members of the congregation came as visitors, he had an opportunity of speaking with them on diverse subjects referring to their spiritual life and the condition of the congregation, and to learn the views of the people. Some were glad, hoping that the congregation would now gradually be brought into good order. Those attached to Schmidt suggested that it would not be proper to discharge him altogether, though he was not ordained and sometimes was given to drinking, "yet not in an unchristian manner, since even among the saints there were none without fault:" he might be kept as an assistant and preach in the absence of the new pastor. Others, who had long been separated, intended to wait and to see what turn things would take, since they had been deceived time and again: nobody knew, they maintained, whether the letters were not Mühlenberg's own fabrication. Some also had taken offence that in the call forty pounds sterling were demanded as the yearly salary; they viewed this as an effort to settle on them in this manner a perpetual tax, and would rather not entangle themselves. Mühlenberg, while listening to all this, rejoiced that Providence had kept back the beloved Boltzius, and saved that good man such a distressing and discouraging experience. Mühlenberg in his peculiar way suggests in his diary that sea-sickness had

happily influenced his physical condition, but that now he had taken moral emetics and felt their salutary effect.

Monday, Nov. 29th, Mühlenberg, accompanied by three elders, paid a visit to New Providence, or Trappe, in a southern direction nine miles distant from New Hanover, to meet there the church-officers. With his companions he enjoyed the hospitality of a truly Christian woman, the widow Schrack, whose husband was one of the officers who had sent the petition for a pastor to Ziegenhagen, but had died during the preceding summer. The oldest officer then living was requested to appear. Seeing the papers laid before him, he at once recognized Ziegenhagen's handwriting, and was glad that Mühlenberg had come. He said that as no answer had been given to the last letter since 1739, they had lost hope, did not expect that a pastor would be sent, and had petitioned for one to the consistory of the church of Hesse-Darmstadt—that a short time before an old preacher, Valentin Kraft, arrived, and maintained that the consistory had sent him, though he brought no testimonials, but said that they would be sent. There were also some people here who had known Kraft as a pastor in Germany. It was the opinion of this officer that Mühlenberg should converse with the Rev. Kraft, and should serve either the congregations at Philadelphia and Germantown or the two farther up in the country. Mühlenberg left matters undecided.

Tuesday, Nov. 30th, at 7 P. M., he again arrived at Philadelphia. Entering an English inn to pay for the horse he had hired, he was addressed by a number of gentlemen assembled in a large room with the question whether he were a Moravian or a Lutheran or a Presbyterian or a Church (Episcopal) minister. When they received the answer that they should first learn better manners, and not address such questions to a stranger, they apologized. On the following day a deacon of New Providence, who had accompanied him, took Mühlenberg to a German inn, there to pay his respects to Rev. Kraft. In the presence of some Germans, Kraft reprimanded Mühlenberg for having on the day of his arrival gone to the

country without seeing himself, but with a patronizing air added that he would be able to assist him and to put him into a place for which he would be best suited. Mühlenberg held his peace for the present. Kraft continued to enlarge upon his travels through the country, his establishment of a general and of a special presbytery, his appointment here and there of elders and deacons, of a consistory organized and to be presided over by him. Mühlenberg says that this man enjoyed then a considerable respect, since the poor, ignorant Lutherans on the one hand were harassed by the Moravians, and on the other were overawed by Kraft's impudent boasting. Kraft even added that he had already reported his ecclesiastical arrangements through an honest man, Thomas Mayer, to the consistory of Hesse-Darmstadt, and expected to have them confirmed. Mühlenberg, desirous of showing the letter of Ziegenhagen to the elders and deacons of the Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia, was informed that all was subject to Kraft's direction, and that the reading of that letter could only take place with his consent. Kraft in the afternoon even sent for two of his special presbytery and read to them Ziegenhagen's letter, again asserting with pretended official dignity that he would place Mühlenberg where it might be necessary. The man's whole behavior was reckoned by Mühlenberg among the "moral emetics." Before all those present on the occasion he declared that from the directions which were given to him in Europe he would not deviate, and in case the three congregations to which he had been sent would not accept him, he would be obliged to get permission of his superiors to take charge of others. This made a perceptible impression upon Kraft. He ordered the two members of his special presbytery to make arrangements that on the following Sunday, the second Sunday in Advent, while he would attend to public services in Germantown, Mühlenberg should preach at Philadelphia in the old butcher-shop which Lutherans and Reformed had rented to hold their services there alternately. Finally, Kraft informed Mühlenberg that a respectable Swedish merchant, Peter Kock, expected both of them

on the following day to take dinner with him. Kock had heard of Mühlenberg from Captain Child, whose sloop had brought him from Charleston.

On the following day Kraft called at Mühlenberg's lodgings to escort him to Kock's house. He advised him to be quite merry, lest Kock might suspect him of Pietism; he also intimated that many thought he was secretly a Moravian. During dinner the conversation turned upon ecclesiastical subjects. The merry-making of Mühlenberg consisted in his presenting to his host, who was an intelligent man and a patron of Lutheranism, the writings of Ziegenhagen—an act pleasing to Kock, but not at all to Kraft. Kock rejoiced in Mühlenberg's safe arrival, and requested him on the next Sunday to preach a German sermon in the Swedish Lutheran church, vacant since the death of the pastor, Rev. John Dylander, who departed this life Nov. 2, 1741. Since Mühlenberg had already promised to preach in the other building, it was arranged that in the afternoon he should officiate in the Swedish church. On the following day he was invited to a German sugar-refiner's, an intimate friend of Kock's and a devout Lutheran, who was opposed to Zinzendorf's plans and to Kraft's presbyteries, but was much pleased with Ziegenhagen's letters. This man was Henry Schleydorn, formerly of New York, who at that time was one of the few members of the German Lutheran congregation who were not living in poverty. He was highly respected among his brethren in the faith.

December 5th, the second Sunday in Advent, Mühlenberg preached his first sermon in Philadelphia. He had, as may be expected, a large audience there and in the Swedish church, where he preached in the afternoon. The meeting-house of the Germans was in Mulberry (now Arch) street near Fifth, in the northern part of the city as it then was. The Swedish church was beyond the southernmost limit of the then built-up part of the city. This sermon gave the German Lutherans in Philadelphia an opportunity to know and understand what sort of a man had now appeared among them to take

care of their spiritual interests. Kraft found it opportune to persuade Mühlenberg to join his consistory, of which he had appointed the Rev. John Caspar Stoever a member; he also intended to ordain a worthless German schoolmaster as a pastor. In the presence of witnesses Mühlenberg begged to be excused, and advised Kraft to desist from his plans, which were nothing but empty pretences. It could not escape Kraft's observation that all intelligent people recognized the legitimacy of Mühlenberg's call. He therefore tried various ways to bring about some sort of an official connection with him. He advocated a division of labor between the city and the congregations in the country. He also offered, in a patronizing manner, to introduce him at Lancaster and at other places. Meanwhile, he continued to perform pastoral duties in the Philadelphia congregation, sent directions concerning divine services to the country congregations, forced himself upon Mühlenberg as his companion when, on Saturday, Dec. 11th, Mühlenberg again went to New Providence, and exhibited on the road the disgusting meanness of his character by his manner of associating with individuals of his stamp. When Mühlenberg preached there the first time, Dec. 12th, in a barn which then had to serve as a church, Kraft read the letter of Ziegenhagen, which was received by the people with joy, and tried his best to recommend Mühlenberg in the strongest terms, simply with the intention of keeping him away from Philadelphia.

Mühlenberg found in that neighborhood individuals who had received good Christian instruction in Hesse-Darmstadt, their native province. Some of them came to see him in the evening and engaged in edifying conversation. On Monday, Kraft left for New Hanover, to continue there his machinations before the arrival of Mühlenberg, who followed in the evening, and learned that Kraft had now made himself busy about procuring a wife for him. Things had reached a climax. On the following day Mühlenberg was requested to baptize a child of one of the members of the congregation. Here also Kraft proved very officious, made arrangements, and gave

orders. Leaving Mühlenberg in the house, he addressed the elders, deacons, and other members assembled outside, telling them that he had introduced this new pastor because he wished them to be well provided for, and that now they should keep him and take care of him and give him suitable lodgings; also, that he intended to unite another congregation, eight miles higher up in the country, with this one: if the people here would not thankfully take Mühlenberg, he would at once take him to Lancaster and there install him as a pastor. These boasts of Kraft produced some commotion, and some of the elders and deacons asked Mühlenberg what the meaning of all this was—whether the old man Kraft were his superior, whether the call framed by Court-preacher Ziegenhagen were not genuine. The time had come when Mühlenberg could spare Kraft no longer. He now read his call again to the assembled people, and proved that he was intended as pastor of Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hanover. To his question whether they gave their consent to it, they responded with a unanimous Ay. Continuing, he told them that with Kraft he had no connection whatever, that Kraft had no authority over him save the one he assumed illegitimately, and that he could not place him at Lancaster or any other locality. In reply to this decisive declaration of independence, Kraft endeavored to excuse himself and to smooth things over. The people were glad, and the elders took Mühlenberg to a member of the congregation who up to this time had, on account of the prevailing disorders, kept aloof from its affairs, but now, hoping better things, was willing to reunite with the church, and offered Mühlenberg a sort of booth attached to his house where he could study and sleep, but not walk about, as it was not much larger than the cabin on the Charleston sloop or the tub of Diogenes. The elders thought Mühlenberg might say farewell to Philadelphia, since it was too distant. To this proposition he did not consent, since that city was included in his call. They desired him at once to stay with them for a time, because there were some who after Mühlenberg's first sermon had demanded during his

absence that Schmidt should again preach to them; to which Schmidt had consented on condition that they would obtain for him Mühlenberg's permission in writing. This moved Mühlenberg to stay and to preach the following Sunday.

After having taken a survey of his new habitation, Mühlenberg held a private conversation with Kraft. He censured him severely because he had done great wrong, and had indeed not taken the right road to do credit to the Lutheran cause. Kraft, knowing that he could no longer figure there, departed, Dec. 15th, for Lancaster. The following day, Thursday, Mühlenberg moved to his lodgings, and thanked God that here he could be by himself, collect his mind, and meditate.

And now his pastoral work began. Visitors came, among them some who were in a suitable spiritual condition; others who thought that in his sermons he should tell the truth to their neighbors. Sunday, Dec. 19th, he preached before a large assembly, many having come from the surrounding country, and afterward baptized, and, since many opposed baptism, and especially pædobaptism, he took occasion to explain the meaning of it and to remind many of their own baptismal covenant. Directly after the close of the exercises, having announced that service would be held on Christmas, he went on horseback to New Providence, and there preached, to a large assembly gathered in and around the barn, on the Epistle of the day, the last Sunday in Advent. He found the people very attentive. With some of them he engaged in the evening in conversation on spiritual matters. The people seemed to be desirous of hearing the word of God.

Monday, Dec. 20th, one of the officers of the New Hanover congregation came to take Mühlenberg back to that place. By direction of Kraft it had been announced at Philadelphia that on Christmas the Lord's Supper would be there administered to the congregation. Mühlenberg, however, considering the relation now existing between him and the New Hanover and New Providence congregations, thought it proper to celebrate Christmas with those who had accepted him, and not with the Philadelphia Lutherans, who

had not taken any steps in that direction. Having arrived at Philadelphia on Tuesday evening, he informed Peter Kock and other friends of these circumstances and of his resolution. These friends, feeling embarrassed, blamed the officers of the Philadelphia congregation that they had not paid more respect to Mühlenberg's call. These officers were reproached also by different members of the congregation when Mühlenberg insisted on it that the proposition to hold the Lord's Supper on Christmas was an arrangement of Kraft's, whose claims upon them they had acknowledged, while he could spend Christmas only with those whom he could call his own. Assenting, however, to the advice of Kock and other friends, he promised to come again to the city on the third day after Christmas to preach in the Swedish church, and there to have the documents connected with his call examined before the people in the presence of the Swedish pastor, Rev. Peter Tranberg, then serving the congregation at Christina, now Wilmington, Del. On the evening of the same day, Kraft, having returned to the city, hearing of the state of affairs, became very indignant and used harsh words and various threats. Mühlenberg told him his fault lay in having assumed official duties which he was not entitled to perform; he also invited him to come on the third day after Christmas to the Swedish church, where they could compare their respective credentials as pastors. On the following morning Kraft also treated roughly Mühlenberg's companion, an officer of New Providence, who up to that time had been kindly inclined to Kraft. Mühlenberg with his companion left for New Providence. On Friday, Dec. 24th, he arrived at New Hanover. Here he preached on Christmas to a large assembly, two officers of the New Providence congregation being present. After preparatory services, confession, and absolution he also administered the Lord's Supper to one hundred or more communicants. In the evening of the same day the elders and deacons of both congregations met and gave their signatures to the following document—viz.: "We, the elders and deacons of the Protestant Lutheran congregations at New

Hanover and Providence, do testify and affirm by subscription that we have accepted with a thankful heart the Rev. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg as a lawfully-called and ordained minister of the gospel, and through our supplications sent by the Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, His Majesty's German chaplain and member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and promise to provide our minister with the necessaries required for his living in his lawful vocation, and to assist him in every good disposition and direction which he gives for our and our children's spiritual welfare, etc. Dec. 25th, 1742. Deacons and elders of New Hanover: Christopher Withmann, Matthias Ringer, Peter Conrad, Valentine Geiger, Jacob Aister,* Martin Keblinger, George Jürger; deacons and elders of Providence: John Nicol. Groessmann, Frederick Marsteller, John Geo. Beuter, Nicolaus Bittel, Geo. Groessman, Jacob Müller, John Geo. Groessmann the saddler."

In his diary Mühlenberg says that in the document then and there subscribed to there was also a section wherein these representatives of the congregations promised that they would permit no man who could not show a regular call and ordination, according to Article XIV. of the Augsburg Confession, publicly to preach or to adminster the sacraments in their congregations.

On Sunday, Dec. 26th, after having preached to a large assembly in the barn during a great storm, he went with Frederick Marsteller, who, as well as his family, through many years proved a faithful friend, to this officer's house, and on the following morning rode on "bad roads" to Philadelphia. Near the city he met the "old Herr Kraft," who was going into the country, though he was specially invited to be present in the Swedish church, about a mile and a half distant from the centre of the city. There Mühlenberg met in the afternoon Rev. P. Tranberg, Peter Kock, and H. Schleydorn, who had a country-seat in the neighborhood of Germantown, and by whose advice some members of the

*An ancestor of the Rev. H. E. Jacobs, D. D., professor in the Theological Seminary of the Lutheran Church at Philadelphia.

Lutheran congregation at that place had come with the hope that Mühlenberg would, to some extent at least, serve them also. He told them that he was not unwilling to serve both Philadelphia and Germantown, provided he could find an assistant who would take care of the other congregations.

After preaching a short sermon he was requested by the Rev. Tranberg, who stood before the altar, to show his credentials. Tranberg read to the assembly the letter and the call given by Ziegenhagen, the certificate of ordination at Leipsic, the matriculation certificate and testimonials of Göttingen University, and the documents subscribed by the church-officers of Providence and New Hanover. He gave also suitable explanations in the English language, as he was not very ready in the German, though he occasionally preached to the German Lutherans in their native tongue. Having arrived in this country in 1726, he had served Swedish congregations in Pennsneck and Raccoon, N. J., and then accepted a call to Christina in 1741. He died suddenly at a funeral at Pennsneck, Nov. 8, 1748. On this occasion, at the Swedish or Wicaco church at Philadelphia, at the conclusion of his remarks he asked the officers of the German church whether they acknowledged Mühlenberg's call and ordination as genuine. To this the elders and some others, considering the question hardly necessary, without direct answer replied that they had as much share in that call and mission as the congregations at New Hanover and Providence, and in answer to a question of Kock also said that they never had either accepted Kraft as a pastor or given him a call; and then with glad faces they pressed forward, gave Mühlenberg and Tranberg their right hands, and in this manner on their part confirmed the call as the other united congregations had done.

When, on the following day, Mühlenberg paid his respects to Governor Thomas, he was kindly received, and, having seen the official documents and credentials of Mühlenberg, given in Latin and in English, since he did not understand German, the governor gave promises of assistance, while some unpleas-

ant remarks which His Excellency at such a very wrong place and time allowed himself to make concerning the Germans were answered very happily and the visit brought to an end. Mühlenberg called also on the commissary of the Anglican Church in Pennsylvania, at that time the Rev. Rob. Jenney, LL.D., who after the death of his predecessor in the office, the Rev. Archibald Cummings (died April 17, 1741), for a time performed the functions of the office, but Jan. 4, 1743, was formally appointed its incumbent by the lord bishop of London, under whose care the congregations and presbyters in the American colonies were. Rev. Jenney hoped that his relations with Mühlenberg would be as pleasant as they had at all times been with the Swedish missionaries.

CHAPTER VIII.

1742 (*continued*).

Count Zinzendorf in Philadelphia.—Moravian emissaries and settlers in Pennsylvania.—Bethlehem.—The nine conferences in Pennsylvania.—The German Lutherans in Philadelphia before Zinzendorf's arrival.—Rev. Jac. Fabricius.—Rev. J. Chr. Schultze.—Rev. J. C. Stoever.—Zinzendorf and the German Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia.—Rev. J. Chr. Pyrlaeus.—Rev. Pet. Boehler.—Mühlenberg meets Count Zinzendorf.

ONE great obstacle to Mühlenberg's activity and usefulness was removed when Kraft quitted the field of labor to which Mühlenberg had a legitimate call. The unfortunate Kraft, by his faults, unspiritual character, and loose habits, stood in his own way, and, as we shall find hereafter, lost his standing and influence wherever the necessities of the times allowed him for a brief period to occupy the pulpit and the pastoral field. But another antagonist, and one of a much higher order as to character, talents, and means, Count Zinzendorf, had made inroads upon the Lutheran material in Pennsylvania, and especially in Philadelphia. Here, adroitly acting under a name assumed for this purpose, and an official title to which he could make no legal claims, he had since the beginning of the year 1742—toward the end of which year Mühlenberg arrived—in his peculiar way influenced the Lutherans and induced a portion of them to give him a "lachrymose" call, as he describes it. He had obtained possession of the records, the sacred vessels, the keys to the money-box of the congregation; and in all this, though undoubtedly intending to benefit spiritually those who trusted in him, by his doctrines and methods—which, especially at that period of his life, were exceedingly extravagant and morbid—he had taken ad-

vantage of the ignorance of the people no less than of their desire for spiritual food, of which they, unfortunately, had been in want for a long time. Zinzendorf had no call to the Lutherans. But through a number of years his emissaries had informed him of the open field in Pennsylvania, and he knew that an answer to the united petitions of these three congregations had been given in writing, but that a pastor had not been sent from Halle. Quite a number of Moravians arrived in Pennsylvania as early as 1736 and 1737. Others came in the following years, and settled at various points in the eastern part of the province. Finally, in 1741 the foundations of Bethlehem, the "American Herrnhut," were laid. Spangenberg, who became at a later period bishop and the restorer of more sober and more sound principles and practices to his brethren in the faith, arrived in Philadelphia county in April, 1736, to labor among the Schwenkfelders settled along the Schippach: here David Nitschman, coming from Georgia, had joined him for a short time "to ascertain the religious condition of the German population." Consequently, Count Zinzendorf was well informed as to the ecclesiastical and spiritual state of the province, and in addition to this he felt a deep concern for the conversion of the Indians. It is not to be denied that in those years Zinzendorf and his adherents had taken a decided position against the Lutheran Church, and against the Pietist party in it no less than the orthodox conservative wing. Yet Zinzendorf, when he arrived in Pennsylvania, took the attitude of an inspector and supervisor of all the Lutheran congregations in the province. Moravianism had already given proof enough of being *sui generis*, and its leaders and members were fully convinced that, compared with the existing churches, they presented to the world a higher, a more spiritual, a more apostolic, and a more perfect form of Christianity. Zinzendorf introduced himself at Philadelphia as a Lutheran, but it admits of no doubt that he was trying to do good by introducing there a form of faith and life in various respects not Lutheran. Showing outwardly a certain indifference to denominational distinctions, and endeavoring to bring all spir-

itual-minded members of different ecclesiastical bodies into a certain higher union, of course he could not offer to them anything better than his own peculiar views as they were embodied in the Moravianism of those days. His efforts in the North American colonies in this direction ended by adding Moravianism to the then existing denominations.

Zinzendorf, after landing at New York, arrived Nov. 24, 1741, at Philadelphia, consequently just a year before Mühlenberg. He proceeded to Germantown, Schippach, New Hanover; then to Bethlehem, Oley, and Ephrata, the seat of the Seventh-day Dunkers. The emissaries of Herrnhut had found access to families of diverse parties, and the way was thus paved for him. Invitations to a general conference composed of delegates of all Christian parties were sent out, and the meeting was held in Germantown, in the house rented by the count, Jan. 1, 1742. These representatives of different Christian parties did not meet in any official capacity. Practically, this conference had as little effect as eight similar ones held in Pennsylvania in 1742, though Zinzendorf tried to attach great weight to them. We know that published reports of them fell into the hands of Mühlenberg at Charleston. During 1742, Zinzendorf made three missionary tours to the Indians and preached at various localities. He brought letters of recommendation from the bishop of London, but was not permitted to preach in the Episcopal Christ Church at Philadelphia. It cannot be said that the impression which he generally made was an agreeable one. In spite of his specious humility—by a solemn act at Philadelphia he even renounced his aristocratic titles and allowed himself to be called Ludwig Nitschmann, or simply Brother Ludwig—his whole demeanor, with all its peculiarities, savored of arrogance; and here in free Pennsylvania the people, and generally even sincere Christians, were not disposed to submit to his personal views, feelings, and will. He was able by his personal appearance, his preaching, and varied activity to create occasionally a transient sensation. But the comparatively few whom he attached to himself and to his cause were,

most of them, enthusiasts, servile, and of little mind and culture. Some of his assistants, of whom a number made themselves busy in Lutheran and in Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania, created painful disturbances, and finally established Moravian congregations.

When Zinzendorf arrived in Philadelphia there was certainly no German Lutheran pastor there. German Lutherans had been there for years. It is reported that blind old Fabricius, who had been pastor of the Dutch (Hollandish) Lutheran church at New York, and from 1677 for fourteen years officiated for the Swedish Lutherans at Philadelphia, had also served in spiritual things the German Lutherans there. Germantown was begun by Germans alienated from the Lutheran Church in 1683. It appears most probable that about that time also some German Lutherans came to Pennsylvania and landed at Philadelphia, and that some of them remained here. We know that in 1703 a beginning of Lutheran congregational life was made in New Hanover. As to Philadelphia, it is well known that the Swedish Lutheran pastors at the Wicaco church occasionally preached to the German Lutherans in Philadelphia. It is stated that the Rev. John Dylander, as his duties permitted him, preached regularly to the German Lutherans. When the Rev. J. Chr. Schultze came to Philadelphia in 1732, he certainly found at that time no organized congregation of German Lutherans there. Rev. J. C. Stoever, whom Schultze ordained before his return to Germany in 1733, began in Philadelphia, and also in a considerable number of other localities, the first congregational records, and without doubt performed services for the German Lutherans, here as well as in other places, in his capacity as an itinerant preacher. It is a fact that in 1735 a man, J. A. Langerfeld of Halberstadt, who had studied at Halle, but was not ordained, promised to hold public services every other Sunday for the German Lutherans. How long he carried out his promise we know not. It is possible that under J. C. Stoever there was a certain organization, elders and deacons. Certain it is, that Zinzendorf gave to the flock of German Lutherans which

he found at Philadelphia some sort of organization and constitution, according to which essentially all power was in the hands of the pastor, as he also, with some of his assistants, organized a "consistory" at the same place. But we are safe in saying that a regular, normal organization and congregational order was not established among the German Lutherans at Philadelphia before Mühlenberg. When he arrived the Lutheran congregation was small in numbers, and among them were at that time, with hardly any exception, no members blessed with this world's goods or maintaining any high rank in society.

On Christmas, 1741, Zinzendorf began to preach to the German Lutherans at their meeting-house. He may have been invited to do so by officers of the congregation, since there was no pastor there, and the members would rather hear a preacher than in the absence of one have a printed sermon read to them. Every fourth Sunday the house was open to the German Reformed, of whose pastor, the Rev. J. Phil. Boehm, Zinzendorf had asked for permission to preach there. When, about the end of the Lent season, he felt that by his preaching the spiritual condition of the Lutheran flock had advanced to a certain degree, on Easter Monday he celebrated the Lord's Supper with the congregation. The sermons which he delivered at Philadelphia and at other localities of Pennsylvania appeared in print in various editions. The style is the German of those days, stiff, heavy, and frequently intermixed with terms taken from the French. The peculiar character of his theological views is strongly brought to light by a sermon delivered at Germantown Dec. 20, 1741, on 1 Tim. ii. 6. He there describes three forms of religion as presented in the Scriptures—the first, the paternal economy in the times of the patriarchs; the second, the regal form, God's relation to the people of Israel; the third and only saving one, the blood-religion, established by Christ. We willingly acknowledge the count's religious fervor, his talent as a poet, to which the Germans owe some excellent spiritual songs, and as an organizer, for he gave his adherents a form for their

society which up to this time proves a safeguard against dissolution. We also give him credit for the self-denying spirit and the energy wherewith he in his way labored for the cause of Christ. But the manner in which he dealt with some of the fundamental truths of Christianity we cannot approve of, and for his sermonizing, which in those days offered much charm to many on both sides of the Atlantic, we have lost the taste.

Intending to devote his time and strength to the mission among the Indians, and to be free from official duties in a particular locality, June 6, 1742, the count delivered his farewell sermon to the German Lutherans at Philadelphia. We know that from the beginning of his activity among them there were some who did not like his preaching nor his influence and manners. His offers to serve them without receiving any salary, and to erect a substantial house of worship, which he fulfilled in the second half of the year 1742 in behalf of those who clung to him, were calculated to silence the dissatisfaction of some. When he discontinued his services in the old meeting-house he put in his place the Rev. John Christopher Pyrlaeus, born of Lutheran parents at Pausa in Saxony, 1713, who in the years 1733–38 had studied theology at Leipsic, and then attached himself to the Moravians. As a missionary appointed by them Pyrlaeus came in 1740 to Pennsylvania, was ordained at Oley, married July 10, 1742, Susan, youngest daughter of Zinzendorf's host at Philadelphia, the merchant John Stephen Benezet, and began to preach to the German Lutherans. Like many in those days enthusiastically admiring Zinzendorf, he on one occasion declared that he was as a speck of dust to a mountain in comparison with the count. Zinzendorf was used to such adulatory terms. Pyrlaeus had no success in Philadelphia. The Lutherans were loath to hear him preach. The Reformed, who were embittered against Zinzendorf since he was reported to have said that the Lutherans should no longer allow them to worship in the same building, and had through one of his converts, the Rev. J. Bechtel, formerly a mechanic, disturbed the congre-

gation of the Rev. J. Ph. Boehm at Germantown, and been engaged in a public controversy with this high-spirited gentleman, took it upon themselves, July 18, 1742, forcibly, with much noise and tumult, and certainly not without the consent of the majority of German Lutherans, to drive Pyrlaeus from the pulpit and out of the meeting-house. This lawless act moved Zinzendorf at once to repair to Philadelphia to bring the matter before the civil court, and to make an attempt himself to preach again in the same meeting-house. He met, however, with such decisive opposition that he had to desist. When his new church-building was finished his faithful adherents worshipped in it—not, however, as Lutherans, but as Moravians. The book and other articles belonging to the Lutheran congregation he obstinately retained, until by decree of court they had to be restored to the Lutherans. His total separation from the German Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia being accomplished, the congregation was without a pastor. This condition of things gave Valentin Kraft an opportunity soon after his arrival to palm himself as pastor upon the German Lutherans.

When Mühlenberg arrived here, Nov. 25th of the same year, there existed, of course, no official relation whatever between the German Lutheran congregation and Zinzendorf and his adherents. But just then some legal questions were in dispute between them. The position also of a number of individuals and their relation to either of the two sides were not settled.

Wednesday, Dec. 29th, Mühlenberg held the first meeting with the elders and deacons of the congregation. One of the deacons, who had joined the Moravian party, now returned to his former connection, and, with some other articles and a book of church records, handed over the key to a chest containing a trifling sum of money given in aid of needy members. All the officers present, seven in number, now signed the call to Mühlenberg. It was resolved that on the next Sunday they should be presented to the congregation as its lawfully constituted council. An eighth one was missing, a

brewer, who formerly had served the congregation as a leader in singing and as a reader. He had followed Zinzendorf, and was not expected to return, since, as was reported, he had been installed in an office among the Moravians.

On the following day two deacons were sent to this brewer to demand of him another book belonging to the vestry and a copper cup which he had taken. He answered that he had handed both of them to Zinzendorf. Before these two deacons addressed him the count had sent the Rev. Peter Boehler to Mühlenberg to inform him that "he thought it very strange that Mühlenberg when in Philadelphia did not come to visit him." Boehler was of Frankfort-on-the-Main, born 1712, had studied theology at Jena, 1731–37, joined the Moravians, was in the fall of 1737 ordained and sent as a pastor to the Moravians settled in the vicinity of Savannah, Ga., and as a missionary to labor among the negro slaves. He led the Moravians thence to Pennsylvania in April, 1740, and was for a time living with them on the tract of land then belonging to George Whitefield, but afterward sold to them. From this sale arose the towns of Nazareth and Bethlehem. Boehler returned, Jan., 1741, to Europe, and from there, June, 1742, to Pennsylvania with a colony of Moravians, accompanied Zinzendorf in September of that year on his tour to the Indians on the Susquehanna, and for a time had charge of English Moravians at Nazareth, and then at Philadelphia. After Zinzendorf's return to Europe he was acting superintendent of the Brethren's Church in America, until Spangenberg reappeared here in Nov., 1744. Boehler returned to Europe, in his religious community was created a bishop, paid two more visits to America, and was from 1764 active in the Moravian service in Germany, England, and Ireland, and died at London Apr. 27, 1775.

Boehler as an emissary of Zinzendorf had visited Mühlenberg already on Dec. 8, 1742, and inquired about his intentions. The close proximity of Grosshennersdorf to Herrnhut, through which Mühlenberg once had passed in travelling, the near relation between the count and the Baroness von Gers-

dorf, and other circumstances make it extremely probable that Zinzendorf knew of Mühlenberg before. After a short discussion of the respective principles governing each side, Boehler finished by saying that Mühlenberg should have a conversation with the count. In the afternoon the count sent another messenger, politely requesting a visit. Mühlenberg acceded to the proposition, expecting to have a private interview, otherwise he would have taken two church-officers with him as witnesses. But he was led into a large hall where a multitude of Zinzendorf's tools and workers were assembled, the count presiding at a small table. Opposite to him Mühlenberg was requested to take a seat, and had to stand an "*examen rigorosum.*" From Mühlenberg's minute narrative of the whole colloquy it appears that the count tried to impress Mühlenberg with his higher social and official rank; he also changed during the conversation the form of his address from a more polite style of etiquette to one which, while at that time it was not directly offensive, served to place Mühlenberg, compared with the count, in an inferior social situation. In English this change cannot be represented. As this meeting between these two remarkable men was the only one of which we know and have a record, we give the conversation in full, as we have it in the handwriting of Mühlenberg:

Count. On what conditions are you here?

Mühlenberg. I have been called and sent here by the reverend the court-preacher Ziegenhagen in accordance with the commission of the congregations.

C. What commission had Ziegenhagen?

M. The three Lutheran congregations anxiously solicited him for a number of years to send a pastor. The copies are deposited in Providence, the letters in London; which, if deemed necessary, may at any time be printed.

C. When did the congregations petition the last time?

M. This I do not know; it can be found in the copies.

C. You [here the count changes the form of his address, using the term "*Er*" instead of "*Sie*"] must answer at once when the last letter to Ziegenhagen was written. (To this

the brewer and some other friends of the count's people assented, but said the last letter may have been sent about 1739.)

M. I am not in condition to answer this question just now. Neither is it of any weight, for I am called, sent, and accepted. The deacons and elders of the three congregations gave their signature to a "recepisse."

C. Here in Philadelphia there are no officers of the Lutheran congregation to give signatures. For before me here in this place the officers of the Lutheran congregation are seated, and there is no other Lutheran congregation or church besides the one we have. Did you not see the church which we lately erected?

M. I know nothing of it, since I am convinced that I preached to Lutherans and was accepted by them.

C. Those are not Lutherans, but rebels, disturbers of the peace. And of such people you have become the head, and preached to them in the house from which they expelled my adjunct Pyrlaeus. The rebels must first come to us and beg pardon.

M. My opinion, count, is that your people must first come to us Lutherans and beg pardon for having broken the lock off of our church and commenced the tumult.

C. This is not true.

M. This is quite true, for this is the very reason that both parties are now involved in a lawsuit.

C. I know of no lawsuit.

M. Well, indeed, everybody does know what happened last summer, July 18th.

C. Let us stick to the subject. At my last meeting with Ziegenhagen I asked him about Pennsylvania. He answered that he could not send any preacher, since the congregations were not willing to determine the salary. As Ziegenhagen knew that I was coming here, why did he send you?

M. I am sent here to inquire into the condition of things and to see whether order can be established.

C. Herr Ziegenhagen is an arch-liar and hypocrite. When

I am in his presence he is quite humble and submissive; when I am gone he uses his tongue and scolds. This is another trick which he and Herr Francke are playing off on me. I shall tell him of it when I reach London.

M. It is a shame to speak of the absent in such terms. I have often heard in Germany that you are in the habit of calling people L. L. L. [liars]. Now, how can I avoid believing it?

C. I am informed that you read all my writings. Did you not read that I had established a Lutheran consistory in Philadelphia?

M. I read in Charleston reports of seven conferences, and learned that a certain Herr von Thürnstein had occasioned disturbances at various places; I did not know the Herr Count had formed a Lutheran consistory.

C. Oh, these are jesuitical tricks!

M. I heard once in Germany that you were installed by a Reformed preacher a Moravian bishop. How could you in this capacity form a Lutheran consistory?

C. I am inspector of all Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania and Lutheran pastor in Philadelphia. I held synodical meetings here in this city and in the country. I have ordered pastors to some places, and one pastor, Caspar Stoever, I have deposed. [J. C. Stoever's life was in those days certainly not without serious blemish, but Zinzendorf acted with two of his adjuncts altogether as a self-appointed judge. Stoever and his many adherents cared very little for his decision.]

M. Can a Reformed preacher give such authority to you?

C. Do you not understand the canonical law? Do you not know that in Wittenberg the highest dignitary of the Lutheran Church is ordained by a Catholic?

M. But how is this, that you are sometimes a Moravian bishop, sometimes an inspector and a Lutheran pastor?

C. In Holland in the presence of lords and princes I resigned my episcopal office.

M. You change frequently.

C. I have a call in writing from the Lutheran congregation here in Philadelphia, as also my adjunct Pyrlaeus has.

M. Had your call the proper signatures?

C. There is no need of this.

M. My call has them. I shall carry out my instructions. If you find fault with this, you can settle it with my superiors in Europe.

C. But is it not contrary to all fairness and decency that after I have been so long in this country you should not have come to visit me? If you were sent to inquire into the condition of things here, why did you not inquire into my affairs? Any one who hears that there is a consistory and an inspector in any place, even if the thing be illegal, should go and try to inform himself.

M. If I, as a stranger, had called on you, you would not have been present. I was told you had gone to the Indians. One meets here with a good many parties. To call on all of them would be impossible for me. To the Lutherans I am sent, and with them I have work enough.

C. I am the Lutheran pastor; why did you not come to me?

M. I was not advised to do so, and I am not now.

C. Did Herr Ziegenhagen say that you should pass by the inspector and Lutheran pastor?

M. No, sir. This thing was not mentioned at all. Herr Ziegenhagen did not know that there was an inspector and a Lutheran pastor.

C. Did Herr Ziegenhagen not know that I was in Pennsylvania?

M. Yes, sir.

C. Do you not see now, from this, my brethren, that this man contradicts himself and lies, since to the same thing he says both yes and no? (The whole brotherhood assented with submissive bows.)

M. Herr Ziegenhagen knew well enough that Count Zinzendorf had gone to Pennsylvania. He did not know that the count intended to be a Lutheran inspector and pastor.

C. Did you not know that I was inspector and pastor?

M. I heard in Germany that you went to Pennsylvania with a definite intention.

C. What was that intention?

M. You had certainly an intention.

C. Just speak out: what was it?

M. I do not know.

C. Do you hear, brethren? The man is insane.

M. Not so quick! In your answer to the publication of Ad. Gross you say at the conclusion, "Brethren, I am now going to Pennsylvania; pray the Saviour to reveal to you my intention." Consequently, who can know what your purposed intention was?

C. As soon as I arrive in London I will go to the archbishop [at London there is only a bishop] and tell him that I established order among the Lutherans, and that when order was established Herr Ziegenhagen sent some one who spoiled all and made confusion.

M. You may do as you please. The fact is, that you have now put all in confusion. I hope, with the help of God, to establish some order.

C. Go on with your work. If you succeed, it must eventually serve for the increase of my Church. You have my good wishes. It is not to be denied that you were a Lutheran student in good standing, that you had a pastoral charge, as was reported to me nine months ago from Herrnhut. No more is expected of you than that you beg pardon, since you are an intruder here and passed me by.

M. It will come to pass that you will be compelled to beg pardon of the whole Lutheran Church.

C. How can you, a young parson, a village preacher, talk thus?

M. You must not wax warm.

C. Make haste to consider and to acknowledge that you have done wrong; if not, on my return to Germany I will make it all public.

M. In case I sin against God, I will in the name of Christ

beg for forgiveness. But I do not see why I should beg your pardon. You may publish in Germany what you please: your affairs are well known there.

C. What is published there against me is nothing but pasquils, to which no one ventures to put his name. I am willing to give you time to beg my pardon. You are ambitious, and that is the motive by which you are governed.

M. Your brain is very fertile in suggestions. Indeed, I find it as your aunt [Baroness von Gersdorf at Grosshennersdorf] told me.

C. Say not a word of her or I shall be compelled to expose her. I might speak very differently to you if I wanted.

M. I am willing to hear.

C. The Hallenses are Pietists. Were you not educated at Halle?

M. I was educated in Hanover, studied at Göttingen, and also at Halle. I am a Lutheran, and shall so remain.

C. Are you such a Lutheran as Herr Ziegenhagen?

M. I have had intercourse with him for some time, have become acquainted with his character, and hope to become more and more such a Lutheran.

C. It will not take a year, and I will bring forward more than a hundred witnesses to prove that Herr Ziegenhagen is not a genuine Lutheran.

M. Herr Ziegenhagen is not afraid of it, and will not be disturbed. But it is strange that you wish to entrap me with your questions to find out a charge against me.

C. Oh, I am casting a hook into your conscience.

M. Not at all. You do not touch my conscience. But this I gather from your questions, that your heart is not sincere. If you had a guileless spirit you would not put those questions.

C. You came here to speak about a church record-book and a cup?

M. Yes; I wanted to ask whether you would return them or not.

C. What should we return? Those things belong to our

Lutheran church and congregation. But in case you stand in need of them we will present them to you, provided you give a receipt in writing.

M. I desire no present from you. I only claim what belongs to us. The book and cup have been paid for out of our collections. (Here I rose up.)

C. Consider well the matter of begging our pardon. Otherwise you will regret it.

M. I need no consideration. I do not acknowledge you as a genuine Lutheran, much less as an inspector or Lutheran pastor.

C. Do you hear, brethren? Now there is revealed what the man has in his heart. (Now much murmuring arose among the brethren, and hearty assent to his words by nodding their heads.)

M. It is also revealed what is in your heart. If you are such a genuine Lutheran, why were you prevented from preaching in the Swedish church?

C. Only one man, Kock, the Swedish merchant, interfered.

M. Mr. Kock is an officer in the Swedish church. Certainly, he did not prevent you from preaching without the knowledge of the only Swedish pastor, Rev. Tranberg.

C. Can you say that Mr. Tranberg refused me permission?

M. I cannot say it positively. Enough, you were refused.

C. There, brethren, you hear it again, that the man contradicts himself and lies! (The assent of the brethren became so strong and noisy that I could not reply.)

In conclusion, the count said: You will not preach in the Swedish church more than twice or thrice before they cast you out as they did my adjunct, Pyrlaeus, from the old meeting-house.

M. I am willing to wait. I wish you a happy voyage to Europe. Farewell!

Thus ended the meeting. P. Kock gave the advice that the officers of Mühlenberg's congregation should demand the book through the city mayor. To the letter addressed to him through

this official the count responded in the following ambiguous manner (we give the letter verbatim):

"SIR: I know no other Lutheran regular church in this province than those in which I have served hitherto. I know of no book belonging to others than to our church. I know no Lutheran parson in Philadelphia but myself, and who is ordained to this office. I know no church-wardens but the same who did their duty faithfully. I shall deliver no book except to the magistrate himself, and I protest against which is done and will be done to the prejudice of our regular church, founded publicly in Philadelphia last spring. This is all which I can do and say. I am, sir, your humble servant, "LODEWYK OF THÜRNSTEIN,

"Pastor and Inspector of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia."

To a second letter of the mayor, demanding the book (the cup was no particular object of desire) and using stronger language, the count answered declaring his willingness to deliver it to one of the church-officers. On the same day, Dec. 31st, at 5 P. M., the count sent for Daniel Seckler, who, with the knowledge of Mühlenberg and the advice of the mayor, Mr. Till, went to him, but was told by the count that the mayor had commanded him to deliver the book, otherwise he would not be allowed to leave the city; but that, indeed, he knew of no book, could not say where it was hidden, and could not deliver it; one or the other of the officers might have it. The count's behavior in this whole transaction was worse than charlatanism. On the following day, Jan. 1, 1743, he left Philadelphia, at New York took ship for England, arrived by the way of Yorkshire at London, and in March preached during a number of days in the Moravian chapel in Fetter lane, James Hutton acting as his interpreter. His threats against Mühlenberg he never carried out.

No one acquainted with the history of Zinzendorf's life and labors can doubt the sincerity of his Christian convictions. It was not an empty phrase or hypocrisy when he called Jesus his "only passion." No man sacrificed more

of his worldly goods, of his social standing, of the ordinary comforts of life to the cause of Christ than he did. But, admitting all this, we feel sorry that he not only very erroneously and frequently took his personal views and feelings for divine revelations, but expected others to consider him a kind of infallible oracle, allowed their undue adulations, and used very doubtful means for mere show and for the accomplishment of his plans. There is no blame to be attached to him for his interest in the spiritual condition of the German settlers in Pennsylvania. But that before sailing for the New World he formally and ostentatiously relinquished his dignity as bishop of the Moravians to find access to the Lutherans in Pennsylvania, and thus pretended to have official authority over the Lutheran congregations while his peculiar Moravian principles, views, tastes, and manners of working were with him of supreme interest, this cannot be successfully defended. Zinzendorf, after 1736 bishop of the Moravians as a separate ecclesiastical body, had formally disconnected himself from the Lutheran Church as an ecclesiastical organization. What a pretence that he appointed himself inspector of the Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania! It was done for stage-effect when, as James Logan, secretary of Pennsylvania tells us, "he framed an instrument to resign all his honors and dignities to some relative. . . . . Several gentlemen, Governor Thomas, William Allen, recorder of the city, Th. Lawrence, one of the governor's council, Dr. Patrick Bard, the governor's secretary, James Hamilton, prothonotary of the court of common pleas, Rev. En. Ross, pastor of Episc. Christ Church at Philadelphia, Mr. Benezet, Rev. Pyrlaeus, and others, met, when he read the instrument; he gave each of them a printed copy, but after all withdrew his papers and also himself, saying, on reflection, he must first advise with some of his friends in Germany." Such proceedings only served to give these sober citizens of Philadelphia and others the impression that the count had a mind not well balanced. Mühlenberg with his straightforward, honest, and manly character could not fail to be offended by the tortuous, insincere ways used by a man

who fully knew the principles of Christ, but to accomplish his designs made use of means unworthy of himself and detrimental to the cause he defended. We cannot but admire the decisive manner of Mühlenberg in his conversation with the count. Instead of being frightened by the situation purposely arranged by Zinzendorf, and by the supercilious arrogance of the man, "he carried the war into Africa," and the count was compelled to listen to such plain words as probably he had never heard before. And so little did Mühlenberg lose his temper that the count himself in his remarks to others admitted that Mühlenberg had on that occasion behaved with commendable moderation. On some other occasion also he could not avoid endorsing his character as a Christian and as a pastor, though this did not prevent him from describing his rival as a heretic in a letter to the Rev. Tranberg.

Mühlenberg would rather have avoided any collision with Zinzendorf. But faithfully to carry out his mission and trust he could not allow the rest of the German Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia, which placed a confidence in the count's intentions and arrangements, to be dispersed. In the Lutheran field the count was an intruder, and the Lutheran cause, for which he pretended so deep an interest, had in him a friend more dangerous than an open foe. Mühlenberg could discriminate well between a Zinzendorf and a Valentin Kraft. But the Lutheran congregations, as such, were no less in danger in the hands of the one than in those of the other. With the same cool firmness he withstood both of them. When Kraft had returned to the city, and proposed in the afternoon of Sunday, Jan. 2, 1743, to preach in the old meeting-house, Mühlenberg took the keys and kept them, little caring for the murmuring of some who sentimentally pitied Kraft, simply declaring that order must be sustained and that Kraft had no rightful claims; whereupon Kraft fell into a considerable rage, gave himself the low satisfaction of becoming intoxicated, associated openly with unworthy individuals, some of them former schoolmasters, at that time here and there acting the part of pastors. He left the city, and by his scandalous

life justified more and more the course which Mühlenberg had taken. On that same Sunday, after having preached on the preceding day, Jan. 1st, morning and afternoon, in the Swedish church to "our Lutherans," Mühlenberg again preached in the same locality and formally installed the elders and deacons of his congregation. Using his habitual openness, he said that these men were by no means without fault, but they were a fair representation; for as was the congregation so also were the officers, and *vice versâ:* they all needed improvement. He reminded both sides of their duties, and finally called out the members to show their acquiescence by giving their hands to the officers.

That a man of such decided character and resolute measures would rouse the hatred of all with whose interests or conduct he interfered needs no proof. Some malicious individuals even laid a scheme to defame Mühlenberg's character. The low moral standing of the person who was to be used as a witness was fortunately discovered in good time, and she had to beg Mühlenberg's pardon publicly in the church before the assembled congregation. Kraft made efforts to arouse hostility against Mühlenberg among the Lutherans at Germantown and Philadelphia. Schmidt, the quack doctor, made a feeble attempt to organize a separate congregation near New Hanover. J. C. Stoever, in those years not at all exemplary as a pastor in his walk and conversation, and somewhat rough and censurable all his life, tried to influence the people by declaiming against Ziegenhagen and Mühlenberg, the inspiration for this coming, most probably, from the worthy Valentin Kraft.

CHAPTER IX.

1743.

Mühlenberg enters upon his pastoral work in the three united congregations.—He opens schools at Providence and New Hanover, and maintains church discipline.—*Halle Reports.*—Charitable gifts from Germany.—Mühlenberg's unselfish labors appreciated.—Resolutions passed at Providence and at Philadelphia to erect churches; at Hanover, to build a school-house.

WE perceive that Mühlenberg entered upon his legitimate field of labor under very peculiar circumstances. He had, indeed, to begin his pastoral work against pronounced libertinism on the one side, wild fanaticism on the other, both of which had representatives preoccupying the field and trying to maintain it. A few weeks were sufficient to demonstrate the power of a lawful, just claim against usurpation; the might of a firm, blameless, honest character against frivolous or sanctimonious presumption; the triumph of law and order over lawlessness and arbitrary conduct. Of course, similar foes, as well as difficulties of a totally different character, were yet to be conquered. In fact, a pastor can never lay aside his spiritual weapons of attack and defence. And no one knew better or experienced more thoroughly that he was living and laboring in the "*ecclesia militans*" than Mühlenberg.

Yet we may well imagine that he felt thankful and greatly relieved when the three congregations to whom he was sent acknowledged him as their legitimate pastor, and learned to esteem and to love him more and more. And with a firm will and an unreserved devotion he began and continued his pastoral work. Various symptoms of awakening life and a vigorous sympathy on the part of the souls entrusted to his care did much to encourage and to make him cheerful in his work.

On Tuesday, Jan. 4th, the officers of the congregation at Providence appeared with a horse for Mühlenberg, and conducted him to their houses. In harmony with the practice of the Lutheran Church on the continent of Europe, he celebrated Epiphany with the congregation on the following day. On the 6th of January he began to give instruction to the children. For some years public services had been held in the barn already mentioned. The officers of the church began even then, so soon after the arrival of Mühlenberg, to consider the question of erecting a church-building. It seems that a frame school-house was at once erected. Wood was, however, not a lasting material, and, as Mühlenberg writes, "soon decays in this country." It was therefore resolved to use freestone in the erection of a church. This would, of course, occasion a heavier outlay. But the number of attendants at public services greatly increasing, and the members showing a praiseworthy liberality, there was much encouragement. Mühlenberg says that the people had no want of the necessary provisions, but money was scarce among them, since they were obliged to carry their produce to Philadelphia, and did not there get remunerative prices.

From the 7th to the 15th of January, Mühlenberg continued his work at New Hanover. In a very unselfish but effective manner he now opened the campaign against those frauds who called themselves pastors and were found in many localities throughout the settled parts of the province, and who tried everywhere to counteract the influence of men like Mühlenberg, while they used the sacred office simply with a view to make money and to drag out a scandalous existence, to the disgrace and detriment of the Church. Let us hear what Mühlenberg in his diary says on this subject: "Sunday, Jan. 9th, I preached at New Hanover to a large assembly; had also to baptize before the congregation after preaching. Learning that the schoolmasters already described intended to establish at various places opposition congregations, I announced to the congregations that they were not to pay anything for having their children baptized, and also that at the celebration

of the Lord's Supper they should lay no money on the altar for the pastor. Since those vagabonds (infesting German congregations and calling themselves pastors, of whom we shall hear more anon), when baptizing or administering the Lord's Supper, care only for the money, produce nothing but strife, and in doing so give occasion to the sects to slander, I abolished that abominable custom, considering that there is no need to pay the pastor's salary just at the occasion of sacred services; but any one who desires to give his share to the necessary support of the pastor can easily find a more suitable time and occasion. Since ignorance among the youth is great in this country, and good schoolmasters are very rarely found, I had to take this matter also into my hands. Those who might possibly teach the children to read are lazy and given to drink, use all sorts of books to make their sermons, waste their time, preach, and administer the Lord's Supper merely to get cash in hand. It is a shocking sin and shame. I requested the congregation to send me first the older children, as I intended to go about among the three congregations, remaining in each successively one week. On the following day, Monday, Jan. 10th, the parents brought me some of their children. It does not look very promising to see youths of seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty years of age appear with the A-B-C book. Yet I rejoice in seeing the desire to learn something. Singing also has totally died out among the young people."

These words give us a clear insight into the condition of things, the evils Mühlenberg had to contend with, and the animus he carried into the work before him. That he at once began to some extent to fill the office of the school-teacher made his services eminently valuable to the rising generation, and brought him nearer to them—a matter of the highest importance. In addition to the German language—which even in our times is the ordinary medium among thousands of the population of Eastern Pennsylvania—he had to teach also the English. He says: "Some young fellows came to the school who wished to learn the English. This also affords

me an opportunity to do some good. I read with them the New Testament in English." The frame church-building at New Hanover was at that time used, though it was not yet quite finished. It was resolved to erect a school-house. Some members at once gave in their names as contributors for this purpose.

Having on Saturday, Jan. 15th, returned to Providence, Mühlenberg met with the officers of the church and inquired into the character of those who had handed in their names to them as participants of the Lord's Supper, to be celebrated here the following day. This indicates his respect for proper discipline in the congregation and his interest in the individual souls. Throughout the whole of his protracted career as a pastor he proved himself conscientiously faithful also in such apparently minor things. This is amply demonstrated by the large number of narratives about individual cases which came under his pastoral observation, and are embodied in his reports periodically sent to Halle, and there published under the title, "Reports from the United German Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America, principally in Pennsylvania," and gratuitously distributed among those who took an interest in the growing German Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania and charitably assisted this mission-work. These charitable gifts were in those days indispensably needed, not only to sustain to some extent the missionaries, of whom Mühlenberg was the leader or the pioneer, but also to assist in the erection of churches and school-houses, in the distribution of Christian literature, and in other useful purposes. The accounts for this extensive interest, kept in Halle under the supervision of the directors of the great charitable institutions in that place, clearly show that considerable active sympathy was given to the young Lutheran Church growing up in the far-off land in the West and to its struggling congregations. The reports sent from Pennsylvania, showing the work there undertaken by the missionaries, its difficulties, impediments, and progress, were calculated to keep up the interest in the work and secure the benefactions of godly souls in the Father-

land. These reports form the main substance of the *Halle Reports*, that most important source of the history of the Lutheran Church in this country, published from time to time in sixteen continuations from the year 1745, and finally compiled and re-edited in two volumes in 1787, the year of the death of H. M. Mühlenberg, by Rev. J. L. Schulze, D. D., professor at the Halle University and one of the directors of the Francke Orphan-House. The contributions of Mühlenberg form the most prominent and most important part of those reports.

When, on January 16th, Mühlenberg again preached at Providence, the concourse of the people was so great that he had to hold public service under the open sky. After preaching he held preparatory services, confession of sins, and absolution, and then the Lord's Supper. There was deep feeling, accompanied with many tears, among those present. Finally, he baptized a child. As many Anabaptists were present, he explained the meaning of pædobaptism. When he announced that during the coming week he intended to instruct the children, a rivalry broke out between two members, each of whom desired to board him and to have the school in his house. He poured oil upon the troubled waters by saying that he would be in the one house in the morning, in the other in the afternoon, the distance between them being one mile and a half. It seems that there was no lack of provisions; the people loaded him down with their good things, and he says, "They do not know how to make their good-will toward me sufficiently manifest." These things, trifling as they are, show us how valuable his services appeared to the people. It certainly was an encouraging sign that in a short time one hundred pounds were subscribed toward the building of the church.

In consequence of preaching under the open sky whilst the cold winds of January were blowing, Mühlenberg contracted a severe cold, which seriously affected his throat—an evil to which he was frequently subject through the course of his life. He nevertheless opened his school on Monday, January

17th. At noon the officers of his congregation came, accompanied by some members of the Reformed Church. Among the Lutherans a proposal to build a church had already been discussed here and there. The Reformed wanted to have a share in this undertaking, and corresponding privilege to use at certain stipulated times the building for their services. For this reason they desired to consult with Mühlenberg. They were willing to assist in building the church. They were told that there were two ways possible—the way of equity and the way of charity: if they claimed a certain portion of the rights, they would have to pay a proportional share of the expenses. To this they would not consent, since they were few in numbers. The other way, the way of charity, was this: that if they would now as good neighbors assist to some extent in building this church, the Lutherans would put it in their written records for the succeeding generation; if, however, during the present generation they were able and willing to erect a church-building, the Lutherans would not stand back, but assist them. In this way the building of a so-called union church, so often the cause of disunion and other attendant evils, was avoided and good feeling between the two sides preserved. The Reformed of Providence and of an extended district in the neighborhood were in those days under the care of the Rev. G. M. Weiss, who had arrived from Europe in the year 1727, and settled the same year at Schippach, four miles south of Providence. With him about four hundred immigrants had arrived, many of whom settled in the same neighborhood, organized under Weiss a congregation, and immediately built a frame church. He was sent as a missionary by the authorities of the Reformed Church in the Palatinate. In two years he moved to Goshenhoppen, Montgomery county, Pa.

Mühlenberg had intended to continue during that week his instruction of the children at Providence. But as two of the officers of the congregation at Philadelphia had come and requested his presence there, he was obliged to go with them. In cold, stormy weather he arrived on Tuesday evening in the

city. During the preceding week two ships had arrived there from London. He learned that one of the ships had brought two boxes which nobody claimed. It was found that they were directed to him, and contained a large number of books and a quantity of medicines sent from the drug-store connected with the Orphan-House at Halle. The medicines prepared there were of high renown in those days, sold in all lands, and formed an important source of income to the charitable institutions at Halle. Mühlenberg rejoiced especially in the possession of the books. Many of them were of a popular edifying character. He sold them at cheap prices among the members of the three congregations. But the more important subject now before him was that here also the members of his flock were engaged in efforts to build a church. Other denominations had their churches; should the German Lutherans of this city be without one? Mühlenberg was fully convinced that the progress of the congregation depended greatly on the possession of a church-edifice. The members took great interest in the matter, and more than two hundred pounds (Pennsylvania pounds, three of which were about equal to eight dollars) were subscribed before Easter, 1743. A proper locality for the building to be erected was found and bought. It was the north-east corner of Fifth street and Appletree alley, north of the present Arch street. There was also next to the church the cemetery.

Sunday, Jan. 24th, in the afternoon, Mühlenberg again preached to his German Lutherans in the Swedish church, and on Monday, accompanied by some church-officers, returned to Providence, where on Tuesday, the memorial day of the Conversion of St. Paul, he held public services. He states that one of the self-appointed preachers, a former schoolmaster, was present, and after the services told Mühlenberg that he intended to leave that neighborhood and not to be henceforth in his way; he, however, desired Mühlenberg to ordain him, as he had a call from a number of people higher up in the country: he had a single Latin phrase at his command as a proof of his qualifications. Mühlenberg told

him that he had no authority to ordain him, and would not act against Church order; at the same time, he advised him to devote himself again to teaching, to instructing children to read and to learn and understand the Catechism. He himself during the rest of the week continued to give instruction to the young people, who exhibited an encouraging zeal, and was pleased to see the members of the congregation bringing load after load of stones for the intended church-building. Saturday, Jan. 29th, in stormy weather, he went to New Hanover, where he held services on Sunday. On Wednesday morning he hurried off to Providence, and, as the day was the memorial day of the Purification of St. Mary, preached there in the afternoon. We see that, in harmony with the custom of Germany, some of the saints' days were then held by the Lutheran Church in the American provinces.

In New Hanover the church-officers had a difficulty among themselves and with some other members of the congregation. Some wished to build a school-house, and under the same roof a parsonage. Others opposed this plan, saying that the pastor should not be disturbed by the noise of children, but ought to be by himself; they would rather build the parsonage after some time, and buy at the same time a piece of ground for the benefit of the pastor, but now erect a school-house of moderate dimensions. Having returned on Friday, Feb. 4th, from Providence to New Hanover, Mühlenberg held on Saturday a meeting with the vestry and the congregation, which he opened and closed with prayer. Various propositions were laid before the meeting. He was asked for his views on each of them, but requested the individual members to give the congregation the benefit of their opinions. The voting on the subject before them proceeded in good order. In a few hours everything was finished, and a contract with a carpenter entered into, one item of which was that the building of the school-house was to be begun in May. The meeting adjourned in peace, joy, and harmony. The officers having on this occasion presented their accounts, the congregation requested Mühlenberg henceforth to have

an oversight over the account-books. Sunday, Feb. 6th, he preached to a large assembly, gathered in and outside of the church, on the parable of the Sower, Luke viii. 4–15. On this occasion a certain female, the daughter of a widow who had been in the house of an English Quaker, where during a sojourn of fifteen years she had forgotten her German mother-tongue without acquiring any religious knowledge, came forward and gave in the English language sufficient proof in the presence of the congregation that within a few weeks, under the tuition of Mühlenberg, she had made satisfactory progress in Christian knowledge. On a profession of faith and after proper examination she was confirmed by him and received from him the Lord's Supper. This opportunity Mühlenberg made use of for a special and impressive admonition to the whole assembly, after which he at once set out for Providence, preached in the afternoon of the same day to a large gathering, installed six elders, whose names he had at his last visit given to the congregation, requesting those who objected to any of them to come forward. Nobody having objected, he proceeded with the act, and closed with special prayer. It appears that he selected the persons himself—a manner of choosing church-officers which was in use for a number of years in Lutheran congregations. On Tuesday, Feb. 1st, in the New Hanover congregation he was called upon to attend the funeral of a member who had suddenly died, leaving five children, not one of whom, though the oldest had reached its twenty-fifth year, had received Christian instruction or had been confirmed. Mühlenberg had a ride of four miles to the house whence the funeral started. "There they put the corpse upon a wagon, and all who could followed it through the thicket. As various sorts of people were at the house, I addressed them. Then we proceeded to the church. I almost met with a mishap, as the people had put me on a wild colt. After the ceremonies I preached a funeral sermon. Such occasions must be improved, when the natural feelings are favorably impressed."

We have thus far purposely gone into considerable detail as to Mühlenberg's first steps and experiences in his new and unusually difficult field of labor. We have gained a nearer insight into the peculiarities of his situation, and into those qualities which so eminently fitted him for that trying position. There was united to the dignity of his whole deportment and to the seriousness of his official character a certain irresistible charm which attracted others to him in such a manner that, while they felt his superiority, they loved him and now took courage, since they saw that without the least personal vanity, without any egotistic interest, he magnified his office, which, through the shameful behavior of selfish, mean pretenders in those parts and days, had been brought into contempt. He himself found the best reward for his exertions in the signs of a new and better life stirring among his people. Such a position would have been intolerable to many a man of literary education and of refined taste among people who for years had been deprived of the proper spiritual care and of educational agencies and instrumentalities. But it seems that for that very position Providence had in various ways prepared him in advance, and he found satisfaction not in such pleasures and interests as the world desires, but in being useful and making himself valuable to others.

CHAPTER X.

1743–1745.

Difficulty in doing justice to the three united congregations.—External circumstances of Mühlenberg's office.—His sphere of action begins to extend.—The west side of the Schuylkill.—Germantown.—Tulpehoken.—Conrad Weiser.—Casp. Leutbecker.—A. Eschenbach.—Zinzendorf's interest in Tulpehoken.—G. Büttner.—J. Ph. Meurer.—Corner-stone of Christ Church laid.—Mühlenberg's first visit to Tulpehoken.—Rev. Tob. Wagner.—J. C. Andreæ.—Mühlenberg's interest is claimed in behalf of the Lutheran congregations on the Upper Raritan, N. J.—J. A. Wolf and his troubles.—Rev. W. Chr. Berkenmeier.—Rev. M. Chr. Knoll.

DURING the years 1743 and 1744, Mühlenberg continued as the only pastor and laborer in the three congregations united under him. The work, though encouraging in various respects, was a very laborious one. In each of those congregations the erection of buildings—in New Hanover a school-house, in Providence and Philadelphia churches—occasioned much care and attention, which to a large extent fell upon the shoulders of the pastor. The necessity of going on horseback week after week from one of the congregations to another, not counting casualties, which often called for additional travel, consumed much time and strength, and on bad roads and at the crossings of rivers, which not unfrequently were swollen, particularly during dark nights, exposed him not only to much discomfort, but also to actual danger. In consequence of this arrangement, though under the circumstances it was the only one possible, it was plain that such care could not be bestowed upon each congregation and upon its adult and young members as was desirable. Mühlenberg had, as he says, to keep house in three places. Not one of them afforded him the necessary comfort, while

they increased his expenses. To some extent he was relieved in this respect by the kindness of the people toward him. He says in his diary: "One man brings me a sausage, another a piece of meat, a third a chicken, a fourth a loaf of bread, a fifth some pigeons, a sixth a rabbit, a seventh some eggs, an eighth some tea and sugar, a ninth some honey, a tenth some apples, an eleventh some partridges, and so forth. The parents, especially of the children I instruct, when they have anything which appears to them of superior excellence, bring it as a gift to the pastor. I attach no value to these dainties, but by loving sympathy I wish to gain their hearts." At a later period, Oct. 30, 1746, Mühlenberg writes concerning his financial affairs to the Fathers at Halle that which may properly be inserted in this place: "In the first year I had yet a small sum, a few pounds, left in my hands when I came here from Charleston. In the New Hanover charge eleven [twelve he says at another occasion] pounds were presented to me with which to buy a horse. In the Philadelphia congregation in the first and second year I did not receive enough money to pay my house-rent, because they had undertaken such a large and extensive church-building, and always maintained that the dear Fathers at Halle had been requested by letter during the first year to pay out of the charity collection the pastor whom they would send. When, without getting my full consent in advance, they had undertaken that expensive building, they clamored for the collection-money [from Germany], and promised they would rather take care of the pastor themselves. At Providence also I received in the first year no money at all, since they also were heavily burdened with the erection of the church, and also maintained that they had begged the Fathers at Halle they should at least during the first year pay the pastor's salary. But my clothes were during the first and second years so totally worn out by my continuous travelling that I had to contract a debt of sixteen pounds to buy under-clothing and outer garments. In the second year I settled accounts with my landlord: he would take no money, but, feeling myself under obligation, I presented each of the

two mothers [two families living the house] with a saddle at an expense of five pounds. My first horse becoming useless in the second year, I was obliged to buy a stronger one for thirteen pounds sterling. I had ridden him hardly four times to Philadelphia during extremely bad weather when he died, whereupon I bought for eight pounds sterling a large, heavy draught-horse. In the second year I paid at Philadelphia to my landlord for house-rent six pounds sterling, for saddle and bridle four pounds, not counting many smaller outlays, so that I was finally at least sixty pounds sterling in debt. In the second year the country congregations with much exertion raised thirty pounds for me, wherewith I paid a part of my debts and bought indispensable necessaries. When all the three congregations were engaged with their building enterprises and sadly longed for the collection-money [from Europe], the news finally came, through the Rev. Boltzius from Herr Court-preacher Ziegenhagen, that there was left of former collection-money the sum of two hundred pounds. I announced this to the church-officers as a long-expected message. The oldest of them, [John Nicolaus] Groessmann of Providence, who knew all the circumstances connected with these collections, said that each of the congregations had a right to an equal share of those two hundred pounds, since they had had equal expenses and labor. The officers at Providence resolved that I should at once appropriate forty pounds to myself as my salary, since the congregations had not paid me, and the Fathers had in my call settled the point that they would in the first years provide for my salary—that the remaining one hundred and sixty pounds should be divided in equal shares. The Providence congregation consequently received sixty pounds for their building outlay, as the receipt will prove. The Philadelphians were in most harassing embarrassment, and most willingly would have taken all the money. To avoid strife, they did receive one hundred pounds, whereof the country congregations were kept ignorant. The New Hanoverians wanted their share—viz. fifty pounds—for their school-house building: after they learned

that I had deducted my salary they cheerfully acquiesced in it. As debts troubled me and there was no other feasible way, I took thirty pounds, paid my indebtedness, gave twenty pounds to New Hanover, and owe them thirty more. My salary had gone to the Philadelphians, who cannot repay it, yet those thirty pounds must be paid." And paid they were.

This statement shows sufficiently with what poor remuneration Mühlenberg began and continued to labor. But we do not find that he was dissatisfied or discouraged. He knew that no salary could ever be an equivalent for his services, but he had proof that his labors were appreciated. With this he was satisfied. As to the rest, he trusted in God.

There was no stronger proof for Mühlenberg of the appreciation of his labor than that more pastoral work was continually expected of him. Encouraging as this was, it soon became entirely too much for one man. Indeed, the three congregations united under him were too much for the care of one pastor, who, in addition to it, performed the offices of school-teacher.

A small beginning of the enlargement of his sphere of labor took place when (Feb. 3, 1743) he was called upon to visit a female member of the Providence congregation living six miles from that place, on the west side of the Schuylkill River. In that direction a number of members were settled. At his visit Mühlenberg was requested by those who during the winter season could cross the river only with difficulty, to preach to them—a request which he granted then and there in the house of the sick woman.

Toward the end of February he caught a very severe cold, lost his voice, and was for a number of days confined to his bed at Providence. From New Hanover, and even from Philadelphia, some church-officers came to see him. Friday, March 11th, he undertook to travel to Philadelphia. On Sunday, March 13th, he preached again, though with a hoarse voice, in the Swedish church, in spite of Zinzendorf's doleful predictions. The Moravian missionaries tried all means to get the privilege of preaching there also, but in vain. A party of

Reformed wished to unite with the Lutherans in building one church for both bodies. Mühlenberg wisely resisted their offer, wherein he had the consent of his membership.

In the same month, Friday, Feb. 18th, the officers of the Philadelphia congregation took Mühlenberg to Germantown, in a northerly direction a few miles distant from Philadelphia. We know that the Germans who in 1683 laid the foundation of Germantown were Quakers and Mennonites, averse to the existing Church. In the course of time, however, a considerable number of members of the Reformed and Lutheran churches of Germany had settled there. The Reformed erected for themselves a church-building in 1719, and, as well as those living in Philadelphia, were regularly served for many years—possibly from 1728—by the Rev. J. Ph. Boehm, who resided at Witpen (Whitpain), about fourteen miles distant from Philadelphia. Of him we know that he was decidedly opposed to Zinzendorf, but equally so to Halle Pietism. Acrelius, the historian of New Sweden, tells us that the Swedish pastor, John Dylander, who with John Malander, a student of theology, arrived at Philadelphia Nov. 2, 1737, and on the 6th of the same month was inducted into his office by the Rev. P. Tranberg at Wicaco, or Gloria Dei Church, which for four years had been without a regular pastor, preached at their request to the Germans [Lutherans] at Philadelphia, "as he was well versed in their language," and that he "also frequently supplied those who resided at Lancaster with divine service;" that he "did the same in Germantown, where he consecrated a stone church which had been built by the Germans in the year 1730." He died in 1741, the year in which Zinzendorf arrived. Why that stone church was not consecrated at an earlier time we are unable to say. Possibly the building was not finished or the members of the congregation did not wish the services of G. Chr. Schulze or of J. C. Stoever, who during a part of that period officiated as pastors in Philadelphia and at other places. The building of a stone church, which after some years was enlarged, plainly proves that there was a considerable Lutheran interest in

Germantown. Yet we read that in 1740 all the inhabitants of the place numbered no more than about four hundred, and Mühlenberg calls the building he found there a "Kirchlein," a diminutive church. Unfortunately, at the time of his arrival he found the Lutherans, of which there was a respectable number, divided by party strife. After he had preached to them on the second chapter of Jeremiah the elders wanted his advice. He told them that as soon as an assistant was by the grace of God sent him from Europe the Lutherans at Germantown could unite with those at Philadelphia and be served by one pastor. To this some at once agreed, giving their signatures. The Philadelphians also gave their consent. This appeal from Germantown was also indicative of the ever-increasing extension of the work which Mühlenberg had under his hands.

In the summer of 1743 his attention was unexpectedly directed to Tulpehoken, west of Reading, in the wide and fertile valley between the Blue Mountain chain and the South Mountains. There those Palatines had settled in 1723 who, under distressing circumstances and in consequence of oppressive governmental measures, resolved to leave the Schoharie Valley and the farms and houses owned there by them, and to move into Pennsylvania. Coming down the Susquehanna River, they followed the course of the Swatara, and finally settled on the Tulpehoken Creek, which empties near Reading into the Schuylkill. Among them were a goodly number of Lutherans. In 1727 they were joined by the family of J. Conrad Weiser, formerly also an inhabitant of the Schoharie Valley, whose father had been a very prominent man during the conflicts of the Palatines with the provincial government of New York. Both father and son came originally from Würtemberg, in the south-western part of Germany, near the Palatinate. Weiser the son, who came to America as a youth, had acquired a rare knowledge of the Indian language, and proved very valuable to the government of Pennsylvania as Indian interpreter.

The Lutherans in the Tulpehoken district built in 1727 for

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themselves a small frame church, met there on Sundays, sung and prayed, had the gospel and a sermon read to them, and were willing to allow any straggler who seemed fit for the work to preach to them a sermon, since a regularly prepared and ordained pastor was in those times not to be had. They also erected a school-house, a proof of their interest in the education of their children. The church and the school-house were erected east of the present Stouchsburg, and the church was known by the name of "Reed's Church."

In 1733 they became acquainted with a certain Caspar Leutbecker, a tailor residing at Matescha, near Schippach, some miles south of Providence. He was employed by them as a school-teacher. Desirous of having the services of a regular pastor, they addressed themselves to Rev. Dr. Ziegenhagen at London, and promised to give the person he would send a yearly salary of thirty pounds. Leutbecker was requested to send the letter containing this petition to Dr. Z.'s address. In 1734 he reported that a suitable pastor had been found and was on his way; he also advised the erection of a parsonage. When his proposition was carried out, he reported the death of the pastor expected, maintained that he himself had been ordained by the Rev. A. W. Boehme, the predecessor of Ziegenhagen, and that he consequently could serve as pastor. He also took possession of the parsonage. We cannot wonder that suspicions were awakened about the veracity of the man, and, collisions between him and members of the congregation taking place, he soon had to deal with a strong party of opponents, who in 1735 called as their pastor Rev. J. C. Stoever, who then resided at Conestoga, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. The result was a strife which grew very acrimonious, occasioned the publication of bitter party pamphlets, and lasted through a number of years. Leutbecker, who was treated very roughly by his opponents, died in 1738. Party spirit continued the strife, and Stoever remained until 1743, without being able by his preaching or manners to reconcile his antagonists. Among these, a well-known Moravian adherent and emissary, Andrew Eschenbach, began from

1740 to exercise an influence. He may have come into contact with J. Conr. Weiser, who would not be an adherent either of Leutbecker or of Stoever. We find that Weiser, a man of unimpeachable honesty, but of an excitable mind, strong feelings, and energetic will, had during the times of Leutbecker for some months joined the society of the Seventh-day Dunkers, who, under the guidance of Conrad Beissel, in the convent of Ephrata, twelve miles from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, practised very rigoristic asceticism. Not finding there a permanent satisfaction, Weiser returned to his family, but kept aloof from the Lutheran Church. We know that he became acquainted with A. G. Spangenberg, next to Zinzendorf the most prominent character of the Moravians during the last century. Spangenberg, after his first visit to America in 1737, returned for a time to Europe. Weiser had awakened in him an interest in the Christianizing of the Indians, who accorded to Weiser such honor and confidence as a paleface rarely enjoyed. It is natural that Zinzendorf, as soon as he arrived in the autumn of 1741 in Pennsylvania, took an interest in Weiser and tried to attach him to his cause. Weiser attended the first and the third of the nine general conferences the count held in Pennsylvania. From the third one, held at Oley, a few miles north of New Hanover, Zinzendorf accompanied Weiser to Tulpehoken, and had there a meeting with the Iroquois on Aug. 3, 1742. There he was also made acquainted with the distressing condition of the Lutherans in that locality, and said that, being well acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Francke at Halle, by correspondence he could easily procure for the Lutherans at Tulpehoken a suitable pastor, in consequence of which a regular call for such an one was entrusted to him. Nobody knew better than the count that there was no mutual sympathy at that very time between the leaders of Pietism and himself and his friends, and that Francke would have been greatly surprised to receive such an appeal from Zinzendorf. We are convinced that Zinzendorf did not for a moment entertain the idea of sending the call to Francke and recommending the sending of a Lutheran pastor. But with-

out any delay he sent, for the time being, a man after his own heart, G. Büttner, who had been ordained at the conference at Oley, having arrived in this country in 1741. He became at once the champion of the former adherents of the late Leutbecker, claimed with them a title to the old (Reed's) church and lands belonging to it, and succeeded in bringing the party strife to such a fever-heat that Zinzendorf, on another visit to Tulpehoken, hardly escaped personal insult. Büttner had, of course, pretended to be a Lutheran pastor. So also, when Büttner, after a few months, retired, did his successor, J. Ph. Meurer, who, June 21, 1742, had arrived from Europe at Bethlehem, Pa., and in September was sent by Zinzendorf to Tulpehoken. In vain did he make efforts to remove Stoever, who certainly through his conduct exposed himself to attack; in consequence of which, Zinzendorf, with three of his adherents and instruments, formed a consistory and deposed him from his office—an act to which we have already alluded. But now a third individual appeared in the foreground—Val. Kraft, who first took the rôle of the peacemaker, pretended to be solicitous to establish good feeling between Meurer and Stoever, and told the people that Stoever had promised him to mend his ways. He succeeded, however, in forming a third party attached to himself. It was also apparent that the longer the people associated with the pastors sent by Zinzendorf, the less were they willing to believe them Lutherans. Those who did not like the Moravian rule and rulers, while they did not feel respect for Stoever and Kraft, increased in numbers, and, not being able loyally to get possession of Reed's Church, on Ascension Day, May 12, 1743, laid the corner-stone of Christ Church, three miles west of Reed's, a short distance to the west of the present Stouchsburg. Traces of the foundations of this church, erected on a hill which overlooks the Tulpehoken and near a fine grove, are still visible on the road now leading to the new church, erected 1785–86. The road runs between the old graveyard to the west, in which venerable monuments of a very hard, rough sandstone, placed there about the middle of the last century, may

be seen, and the new graveyard to the east, in which the new church stands, and from its lofty spire presents a commanding view of the surrounding country. To this Christ Church three Lutherans, Sebastian Fisher, Christian Sauer, and George Unruh, had each given five acres as a glebeland.

There is no doubt that Büttner and Meurer, though their Lutheranism was an empty pretence, were much better Christians and pastors than Stoever and Kraft, whose behavior, by contrast, was an offence to a Christian conscience. The people were not inclined to tolerate them any longer. Thus it happened that all the Lutherans who had no sympathy with Meurer were deprived of the services of a regular pastor. In this predicament they addressed themselves to H. M. Mühlenberg, begging him to assist them in procuring a pastor. The words of Holy Scripture, "a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid," were verified. Mühlenberg's good name had already spread from the plateau east of the Schuylkill Valley on which New Providence and New Hanover were situated in the midst of the primeval forest, with their houses and cultivated fields making from year to year larger inroads into it, from a distance of about fifty miles through a district even now called the Schwarzwald (Black Forest), south of Reading—which city in those days did not exist—and to the west of the Schuylkill Valley into the region irrigated by the limpid waters of the Tulpehoken and its tributaries.

Mühlenberg tells us that in 1743 he was for the first time invited to Tulpehoken, where his advice and assistance were greatly needed. He found three parties there. Eight or nine families held the old (Reed's) church with the "Bethlehemites," which in this case meant the emissaries from Bethlehem, Pa., the Moravian pastors who in vain pretended to be Lutherans. The second party was attached to Stoever and held the new (Christ) church. The third party had no particular attachment and claimed rights in the new church, but needed help. It was not possible for Mühlenberg him-

self to serve them. In other respects he was willing to do for them what he could.

He was, as we know, standing alone in the extensive field of his labor. It now happened that in the year 1743 a pastor, Tobias Wagner of Würtemberg, a great-grandson of the renowned theologian Tobias Wagner, who died in 1680 as chancellor of the University of Tübingen, arrived in Pennsylvania and presented himself to Mühlenberg. He had been pastor at Horkheim, near Heilbronn, in Southern Germany, was married, and brought with him five children, to whom in Pennsylvania three more were added. Through his sons he is the ancestor of a widely-spread family bearing his name, and through his daughters of the highly-respected families of the late Maj.-gen. S. P. Heintzelman, U. S. A., Stillé, and others. He had come in company with a number of German immigrants to New England, most probably to the colony of Waldoboro' in the present State of Maine, was not satisfied there, and came to Pennsylvania in hope of finding here a better field of labor and support for himself and his family.

With Mühlenberg's consent, the third party at Tulpehoken gave Wagner a call *ad interim*. Unfortunately, Wagner was not attractive to the two other parties. Mühlenberg found that Wagner's sermonizing was not pleasing to the people, that there was no magnetism about his person, and that he proved suspicious, censorious, and very impulsive. The third party at Tulpehoken could not provide a sufficient support for him and his large family, with which already in 1743 he had moved thither. Dissatisfaction increasing, Mühlenberg made vain attempts to associate Wagner with himself or to place him in other localities. But the congregations were not willing. Wagner ungraciously soon began to mistrust Mühlenberg and to spread the untrue report that Mühlenberg received a regular salary from Halle, where the Fathers were well informed about Wagner, but placed no confidence in him. Wagner also associated himself with Stoever and other enemies to ecclesiastical order and pastoral dignity, and under

the pretext of stricter orthodoxy even tried to undermine Mühlenberg's position and influence. He continued, however, to perform his pastoral duties in Christ Church, Tulpehoken, and at Heidelberg, where Conrad Weiser resided, some miles east of Christ Church, and at other localities, until 1746. Yet during 1745 he accepted a call to Zion Church (now Mosellem), Berks county, Pa., moved at Easter in 1746 into the neighborhood of the present city of Reading, served about that time also the Alsace congregation near that city, began the formation of the Lutheran congregation in it by preaching in a private house, consented in 1748 to serve the Lutheran congregation at Earltown (New Holland), Lancaster county, Pa., in 1751 that at Lancaster also for a short period, and remained pastor at the Mosellem church until his return to Europe in 1759, where he most probably died (1775) as pastor of a congregation in Würtemberg. Mühlenberg, willingly admitting the superiority of Wagner's personal character over those vagabond self-made pastors with whom he and the congregations were obliged to contend, tried to influence Wagner and to benefit him as best he could. But a more intimate association with a man of Wagner's whole mental framework was impossible. Tulpehoken, however, now remained one of the objects of Mühlenberg's care. In fact, in the spring of 1745, while Wagner for a time had absented himself, those served by him called upon Mühlenberg to take them altogether under his care, thinking that he could reunite all the three parties. We add that during Wagner's residence at Tulpehoken the Moravian party had erected, in place of their old frame church, a new building of freestone, dedicated in 1746 by Spangenberg. Wagner's party used Christ Church, which was also claimed by the friends of Stoever. Immediately after Wagner's first arrival in Pennsylvania, in July or August, 1743, Mühlenberg had tried to induce the Lutherans at Indianfield and Old Goshenhoppen, some miles north-east of Providence, to give Wagner a call, since they were then engaged in a strife with Streiter, a former school-teacher, who served them as an unordained pastor. But they refused

to have him. Wagner paid a visit also at Lancaster, but there also had no success, but met with Stoever and Kraft, with whom he fell into a dispute. Thereupon, Wagner returned to New England, and in a short time afterward suddenly reappeared in Pennsylvania, bringing along his family. One reason why Mühlenberg was glad to have him settle in Tulpehoken was that during the summer of the same year (1743) another clerical impostor, John Conrad Andreæ, who had been summarily dismissed from his pastoral office at Hornbach by the government of the principality of Zweibrücken in Germany, arrived in Pennsylvania, and, desiring to impose upon Lutheran congregations, might have succeeded in getting in at Tulpehoken. We find this despicable individual afterward settled at Goshenhoppen, and at a later period at Germantown, where, after having done his best to serve the world, the flesh, and the devil, and to prevent the progress of Christ's kingdom, he died the death of an evil-doer, Jan. 1, 1754. It was not the least of the cares of Mühlenberg to defend congregations against the inroads of such unworthy pretenders to the sacred office, while such unprincipled men used all possible means to counteract his influence.

As early as the year 1743 some Lutheran congregations in Hunterdon county, N. J., laid their grievances before Mühlenberg. He was then not in a condition to extend to them a helping hand. The same took place in the following year, and found him in the same condition. In the year 1745 things had taken such a turn that Mühlenberg could not avoid interesting himself for those congregations and taking upon himself the care of a rather distant field. The circumstances were as follows: In the *Reports* which Mühlenberg, and at a somewhat later period his colaborers also who had been sent from Halle, transmitted to the Fathers—those worthy men at Halle, that centre of evangelical missions in Germany, who in connection with Ziegenhagen at London took such a warm and active interest in the spiritual condition of the German Lutheran congregations in the American colonies—we frequently read of "the Raritan congregations." It seems that

Lutherans from Holland had at an early period settled on the upper waters of the Raritan River, and that in the course of time German Lutherans joined them in such numbers that they gradually formed the overwhelming majority, so that finally, in religious services, German only was used. It is probable that in earlier times the pastors of the Dutch Lutherans at New York occasionally attended to the spiritual wants of these brethren in the faith, and it is related that Justus Falkner, already known to us, moved from the Hudson in his later years to that district, and died there in 1723. His successor in the field of labor on the Hudson and at New York was the Rev. Wilh. Christopher Berkenmeier, who after his arrival in the New World in 1725 served both these branches of the Dutch Lutheran Church, until, in 1732, the Rev. Mich. Christian Knoll took charge of the congregations at New York and the neighboring Hackensack, N. J. Berkenmeier had on the occasion of a visit advised the Lutherans on the Upper Raritan to address themselves to the ministry of the city of Hamburg, and to petition for a suitable pastor. In following this advice they put into the hands of that ministry a regular call and the moneys needed for the sending of the individual to be selected. They wanted a "German *studiosus theologiæ*," whom the ministry was to ordain before he came across the ocean. One of the members of that ministry, Rev. J. A. Wolf, had a near relative of the same name, then a *studiosus theologiæ*, who was called, and May 11, 1734, ordained in St. Nicolai Church at Hamburg. Whether this man was selected because he was a near relative of Pastor Wolf, or because he gave encouraging promise of future usefulness, or because he did not give any such for Germany, but allowed a charitable hope of a favorable development under totally different circumstances in a foreign land, we know not; but this we know, that a more unsuitable individual could not have been palmed upon the Raritan congregations. He was received here by them with much joy and good-will. Of his orthodoxy there was no doubt. He had not even the faintest semblance of Halle Pietism, so much abhorred by the adherents

of the orthodox party, to which in these times the Hamburg ministry, and, on this side of the Atlantic, W. Chr. Berkenmeier and M. Chr. Knoll, belonged. He was said to be a man of fine classical and literary attainments. But that such a scholar should, when preaching, be obliged to read every one of his sermons from his manuscript was altogether opposed to the views and feelings of the Lutheran farmers and other people on the Upper Raritan. He thought that his method was good enough for "these peasants." The spiritual gifts of humility, patience, kindness were totally wanting in him; other proclivities were offensively prominent. Following his matrimonial inclinations, he soon married, but in a short time was separated before a civil court *de mensa et toro* from his wife, whom he had scandalously maltreated. He showed a lamentable indifference in the discharge of his duties, would not listen to advice, was obstinate in his ways, and fond of litigation. One year after entering upon his duties here he had to such an extent lost all the esteem and affection of his flock that Berkenmeier and Knoll came to admonish him and to try to make an impression upon him. Through their influence a new agreement was entered into in 1735 between Wolf and the people, but it led to no happy result. The members of the small congregations—of which there were about four—refused to pay Wolf's salary. Since they had given their signatures in the call sent to Hamburg, they were compelled to pay as long as Wolf was legally the pastor, and Wolf made them pay by legal process. Through a period of eight years lawsuits were carried on between him and his members. Every attempt to eject him from the office failed. The civil courts were not calculated to judge the case on its proper merits, the lawyers were ever ready with their services on each side, and the whole condition of things was a scandal to the Church and to the whole community.

Finally, but entirely too late, the contending parties agreed to lay the matter before a board of four arbitrators, two from each side. Wolf called Berkenmeier and Knoll on his side; the members, Mühlenberg and Tobias Wagner. Mühlenberg

was very averse to have anything to do with the detestable affair, but the worried, distressed members of those congregations allowed him no rest. He corresponded with Berkenmeier, and proposed that Wolf should be persuaded and assisted to return to Germany. It seems that Berkenmeier intimated such a course would be detrimental to the reputation and honor of Wolf. When, in July, 1745, three representatives of the Raritan congregations came again to Mühlenberg, informing him that an agreement had been made before a justice of the peace between them and Wolf that whosoever should show himself unwilling to carry out the conditions should pay a fine of fifty-five pounds, and that a final decision must be made by the arbitrators on or before the 1st of August, 1745, Mühlenberg found himself unable any longer to resist, and undertook with Tob. Wagner a journey of about seventy miles—Wagner had to go one hundred and twenty-six miles—and arrived July 31st at the Raritan. Here they found, to their great embarrassment, that Knoll was there, but not Berkenmeier. This seemed to jeopardize the whole undertaking. What excuse Berkenmeier had for his non-appearance we know not, but in a letter of May 20, 1745, sent to Mühlenberg before the whole transaction, he uses very ambiguous language, brings unjust charges against the congregations, and deals with Wolf in a manner which is more calculated to hurt the writer of the letter than to help Wolf. Even Knoll did not hesitate, in a letter of Oct. 16, 1745, to demonstrate to Berkenmeier that he had in this matter taken a standpoint which, in view of all the facts of the case, was untenable, and showed an unfair mind biassed in favor of Wolf. Under these circumstances the absence of Berkenmeier on the day of arbitration was probably no disadvantage. Wolf, who may have felt that under present conditions he could not satisfactorily maintain himself for any length of time there as pastor, and who needed money above all other things, acknowledged the three arbitrators as competent to decide the case. The arbitrators listened through five long days to the testimony laid before them from both sides; they made vain

efforts to reconcile Wolf with his wife, who preferred to go begging with her two children rather than to live again with her husband. No less futile were the efforts to restore peace between Wolf and his church-members, not one of whom desired him any longer as pastor. Wolf finally proposed, for the consideration of ninety pounds sterling, to give to the congregations a full release and quit the office. It was no easy task to persuade men who had lost money enough in this long litigation by court and lawyers, and had been obliged by a decision of the court to sustain for years a man whose services could not benefit them, to sign their names to the document and to pay that worthless pastor an additional and high sum of money. But the arbitrators, though obliged to hear many a sharp word, succeeded, and the document was signed. The old papers on which the claims of Wolf rested he now handed to those whose names were on them, and they immediately tore the signatures from them. Wolf received his ninety pounds; the trouble was so far at an end, and the arbitrators departed.

A report on the arbitration, written by Mühlenberg and signed by the three arbitrators, was sent to the ministry at Hamburg. That Wolf ceased to be pastor was one step in the right direction, but of a negative character. The congregations were left in a totally destitute condition. In eight years the Lord's Supper had not once been administered nor the rite of confirmation performed. The people were demoralized in consequence of the bitter strife and the lamentable litigation; they were unwilling to enter into any formal connection with another pastor. There were other disturbing and discouraging influences at work on either side.

Under these distressing circumstances Mühlenberg undertook, in the autumn of the same year, to pay another and a more protracted visit to these congregations. He instructed the young, visited and encouraged the membership, administered confirmation, awakened a new interest. Through him the lost confidence in the clerical office and the respect for it were restored, and twice he repeated his visits there in the follow-

ing year. In all this he proved the intensity of his missionary spirit. No wonder that also in that region a new life and an interest in the word of God, and a love for it and for the Church and her services, were aroused. That he endeared himself to the souls whom he manifestly led out of darkness we can easily understand. Future facts will prove it. But he had now undertaken to cultivate a new field, and was not the man to lay his hand to the plough and to look back. We shall have ample occasion to see how solicitous he was for the spiritual welfare of the Raritan congregations.

CHAPTER XI.

1745-1747.

Further extension of Mühlenberg's missionary labors.—Numerical increase of Lutherans in Pennsylvania.—Their spiritual destitution.—Irregularly appointed pastors.—Carl Rudolph.—Moravian pastors intruding upon Lutheran congregations.—In answer to Mühlenberg's petition, Rev. P. Brunnholtz and J. N. Kurtz and J. H. Schaum arrive from Halle.—Their respective fields of labor.—Brunnholtz takes charge of Philadelphia and Germantown.—Mühlenberg retains Providence and New Hanover and outlying charges.—Kurtz begins to teach at New Hanover, Schaum at Philadelphia.—J. J. Loeser.—Mühlenberg's marriage.—He settles at Providence.—Missionary work in Lancaster and York.—L. T. Nyberg.—J. Conr. Weiser the elder.—The Lutherans on the Upper Hudson and in the Schoharie Valley.—Interest in the Raritan congregations.—The catechists Kurtz and Schaum there.—Progress of these churches.

THE year 1745, which witnessed the extension of Mühlenberg's work and influence beyond the limits of Pennsylvania into the neighboring province of New Jersey, was in other respects one of the most memorable of his life. In the Raritan congregations he had to disunite incongruous elements; in Pennsylvania he was engaged in effecting very desirable unions. From the very first days of his labor in the field to which he was called, the conviction that here was any amount of work for the proper kind of men willing to serve the Lutheran cause grew more and more strong within him. Thousands of Lutherans were scattered over a field extending several hundred miles in all directions. Immigration was toward the middle of the last century greatly on the increase. It is stated that in one year nine thousand, in another twelve thousand, German immigrants landed at Philadelphia. Reports came to Mühlenberg from all directions that Lutheran pastors were wanted. In their destitute condition con-

gregations would allow men to serve them who were devoid of every quality necessary for spiritual advisers. Some of that class have already come under our observation. Such men had to be resisted and displaced and worthy men introduced.

Among these rogues there was one particularly prominent in those years, Carl Rudolph by name, prince of Würtemberg, as he called himself, a consummate scoundrel, probably a deserter from some army in Europe, who carried on a cheating and stealing expedition from Georgia through the seaboard provinces as a pretender to the sacred office, foraging upon German settlers, displaying anew in a short time in each locality his utter dissoluteness, doing immense harm to the clergy, but always finding people to inveigle by his persuasive arts. There were here and there, in various congregations, better men well qualified for the sacred work. Among the Germans they were then "few and far between." There was no organization, no unity of action, among them. Most active were the Moravians. They seemed never to be in want of men to serve their cause among Germans or Indians. But, while Mühlenberg was willing to give them credit for their general character and zeal, he could not allow the Lutheran congregations to fall a prey to Moravianism or to be cut asunder by the Moravian emissaries, as was sometimes the case. Under these circumstances he would have been very glad to meet with brethren in the office who could have shared his feelings and views and co-operated with him. But neither Wagner nor Stoever nor men like Berkenmeier or Knoll were properly qualified for this end. Wagner was distrustful, had become prejudiced against Mühlenberg, did not consider him soundly orthodox, and even tried to raise suspicion against him by pamphlets. Mühlenberg sought to exercise some influence on Stoever, in whom he certainly recognized elements which, properly directed, might have been used to great advantage. But Stoever had no sympathy with Mühlenberg's spirituality, no thorough-going personal experience of the operation of the Holy Ghost upon his heart and life. Mühlenberg's efforts,

by conversation or correspondence, to bring him nearer and effect a better understanding and a closer sympathy were in vain. Men like Berkenmeier and Knoll belonged to a different theological school, and were—especially Berkenmeier—prejudiced against the missionary of Halle. It is natural to suppose that Mühlenberg greatly desired as his associates men who would fully sympathize with him. From the very beginning of his labors in his three congregations, knowing full well how much should and could be accomplished here for the Lutheran Church and for thousands of souls given to her by Providence, he had sent petitions to Halle begging the Fathers to send him colaborers; and so pressing was he in his entreaties that finally success crowned his efforts, and three men were found who were willing to follow Mühlenberg as missionaries from Halle to assist in his labors on the large field in Pennsylvania. They were Peter Brunnholtz, John Nicol. Kurtz, and John Helfrich Schaum. Jan. 26, 1745, Mühlenberg had the pleasure of welcoming these three brethren at Philadelphia to their new field of activity. He knew that in union there is strength, and he had not the least doubt that with these men he could in all the essentials of the sacred service fully unite, and that a blessed progress in the work before them might be expected.

The date on which these three brethren arrived here was so memorable, and the joy they experienced on meeting Mühlenberg was so great, that for a number of years it was celebrated in the circle of the brotherhood as a memorial day, serving for the spiritual refreshment of them all. That joy was shared fully by the members of the Philadelphia congregation, who received these brethren most kindly. After it was known that they had resolved to come, prayers were offered publicly and privately for a safe voyage. That to them and to their whole work Mühlenberg's experience, highly-respected position, influence, and friendship proved invaluable, needs no remark. He had been the pioneer and had done the hardest work; they willingly acknowledged his superiority and followed his guidance.

The most prominent of them was Rev. Peter Brunnholtz. He was, when leaving Europe, still a subject of the Danish kingdom, having been born in Nübühl, in the Danish province of Schleswig. Having received a good linguistic education—he mastered, among others, also the Danish and Swedish languages—and having finished his course of theological study at the university, for a time as a candidate for holy orders he was engaged in performing pastoral services on the estates of a nobleman, Hartmann von Gensau of Farrenstaedt, who also used him as an instructor of the youth, thought highly of his services and of his Christian character, was closely connected with the directors of the Halle institutions, and, in accordance with their wishes, laid the call from Pennsylvania before Brunnholtz, believing him to be well qualified for the work, though he had some misgivings on account of Brunnholtz's weak constitution. Brunnholtz, after taking the matter into prayerful consideration, accepted the call Feb. 29, 1744. At Dr. Francke's solicitation, Count Stolberg of Wernigerode permitted the examination and ordination of Brunnholtz by the church authorities of his estates. On Friday, May 10, 1744, he was examined, and on Sunday, May 12th, publicly ordained. After having taken farewell of his father and brothers, and of the Fathers and friends at Halle and other places, he was joined at Hamburg by his two companions, J. N. Kurtz and J. H. Schaum, both going to America in the capacity of assistants to Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, or as catechists. Both were intimate friends, as their fathers—esteemed parochial teachers in Germany—had been for many years. They had made a beginning in the work of preparation for the ministerial office, and were expected to continue their studies under the tuition and guidance of both their superiors, and at the same time to make themselves useful as teachers in the schools connected with the congregations under the care of the ordained pastors. As such they were greatly needed in Pennsylvania, and proved themselves at once valuable colaborers with Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz. Kurtz took his lodgings in the recently-erected

school-house at New Hanover as the teacher of the school connected with that congregation; Schaum, residing in Philadelphia with Brunnholtz, served there in the same capacity. Both assisted the pastors also in preaching, since at various localities outside of the congregations united under the two regular pastors, and taken care of by them, there were demands for this. Sometimes, as the circumstances required it, the pastors themselves would serve those outlying stations (*Filial Gemeinden*), which in the course of time were raised to parishes having their own pastors or forming, in connection with other similar smaller settlements, new parochial charges. Thus it was at Oley, a few miles from New Hanover in a north-eastern direction; at Saccum, Upper Milford, and neighboring localities: at Easton and its environs; also in Chester county, on the west side of the Schuylkill River; at Cohansey in New Jersey, about thirty-six miles south-east of Philadelphia; in the Schwarzwald, and in other localities added in the course of time. Wherever Mühlenberg found German Lutherans who needed pastoral services he was willing to give a helping hand, and Brunnholtz and the two catechists manfully assisted him; so that the influence of these increased and united forces, working for one end, was felt over the field of action, which continually expanded. Mühlenberg never lost sight of the training of the children of the Church. As other responsibilities continually increased, he could no longer devote himself to regular teaching. But he found also for the children of his flock at Providence a young man who under his supervision carried on the work in the parochial school. This was John Jacob Loeser, who before the arrival of J. N. Kurtz had in New Hanover acquired some experience in the art of teaching, enjoyed, on account of his excellent Christian character and faithfulness in the performance of his duties, the confidence of Mühlenberg, and Jan. 7, 1749, entered upon a new field of labor as parochial teacher of the Lancaster congregation. Also J. Fr. Vigera, whose acquaintance we made at Ebenezer, Ga., and who now resided in Pennsylvania, had before the arrival of Kurtz served as a teacher at New Han-

over, and had afterward for a time been active in the same capacity at Philadelphia: he was also employed there, when the regular pastor was engaged in other places and after J. H. Schaum had been called to another field of labor, as a lay reader in the congregational worship.

Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz began their united labors cheerfully and with strong and lasting sympathy for each other. At first they made bi-weekly changes: one served for two weeks at Philadelphia and Germantown; the other, in the country congregations. But already in June, 1745, an arrangement was made, with the consent of the congregations, according to which Brunnholtz took special charge of Philadelphia and Germantown; Mühlenberg, of Providence and New Hanover, with the outlying smaller charges. He had in the performance of his pastoral duties to spend a considerable part of his time on horseback, going over the roughest roads and byways, through thickets and swamps, and to be exposed to all sorts of weather. These exertions and dangers Brunnholtz's weaker physical constitution could not endure. Mühlenberg, under circumstances soon to be explained, had his headquarters for about two months in Philadelphia, where now his colleague began his bachelor household, while he himself resided at Providence, where, with a view to a continued residence, he began to have a house built for himself and took up a piece of land for cultivation, to assist in sustaining himself and a family.

And this leads us legitimately to give the history of a union in addition to the official clerical partnership of Mühlenberg with Brunnholtz, and in no manner affecting this most necessary and salutary relation. We refer to a union which contributed to supply a deeply-felt want and to complete the man and the pastor for his work.

We know that already, in the fall of 1743, Mühlenberg was requested to take an interest in the deplorable condition of the Lutheran congregation at Tulpehoken, known in those days as the "Tulpehoken Confusion." When, during his first visit, he became acquainted with J. Conrad Weiser, it seems

that a mutual sympathy sprang up between the two. In a short time Mühlenberg gained the full confidence of his new friend, who, after various alliances in divers directions, came nearer and nearer to Lutheranism as Mühlenberg represented it, until finally his membership in the Lutheran Church was fully established. Weiser was, when Mühlenberg became acquainted with him, a man highly respected, not only by his neighbors and a large circle of friends, but by the authorities of Pennsylvania and of neighboring provinces. He was a self-made man, had gone through many hardships, was rich in experience, and, while his interest in religious matters is proved even by such an extravagance as his transient attachment to the convent-life at Ephrata, and afterward by his short-lived interest in Zinzendorf, he showed the greater soberness of his judgment by his lasting respect and love for Mühlenberg and by the unremitting confidence he learned to place in him. To Weiser's pen, in reply to questions made by Brunnholtz, we owe one of the best delineations of Zinzendorf's peculiarly-constituted character and of the methods he pursued in his missionary work during his visit to Pennsylvania. Acknowledging what was great and good in the count, Weiser, without any malice, with a totally unbiassed mind, points out the weak sides of the man who in many, but not in all, respects was the superior of thousands. That Weiser, when Mühlenberg came to his house, had an open ear not only for the well-seasoned conversation of his clerical guest, but also for his melodious singing and his other musical accomplishments, proves that the traditional love of the German for music was vigorously alive in Weiser's heart. Mühlenberg's singing and playing on the family organ were, however, listened to not only by Weiser, but by his whole family. And we are not going too far in thinking that there was among Weiser's children one who with a peculiar interest listened to the manly singer's melodious voice, and could not but admire his character and his whole bearing; and to her, who could not escape his observation, Mühlenberg offered his hand, which, with the parental consent, was lovingly

accepted. On April 22, 1745, the Rev. H. M. Mühlenberg and Miss Anna Mary Weiser were united in the bonds of marriage at Tulpehoken by the Rev. Tobias Wagner. The official record of the marriage is still to be seen in the well-preserved church-record of the parsonage next to Christ Church, near Stouchsburg. Brunnholtz and Schaum had accompanied Mühlenberg to Tulpehoken, and were witnesses at the marriage.

Anna Mary Weiser was born June 24, 1727, was consequently at the time of her marriage not yet quite eighteen years old, always proved herself a faithful partner of her husband's joys and sorrows, toils and cares, suffered in later years from long-continued bodily infirmities, lost her beloved husband after a happy union of forty-two years and five months, and departed in peace Aug. 23, 1802. Her situation at the side of her husband was a trying one. His mind and time were taken up with the ever-increasing cares of his office, an extensive correspondence, and the demands made upon him from all parts of the Lutheran Church in the colonies. He was frequently absent from home—sometimes for weeks and months. This was keenly felt by his wife, and the willingness with which she submitted to her lot deserves our admiration. She knew that in travelling to distant places and doing his best to gather Lutherans into congregations, and for a time serving them or giving them an organization, he was fulfilling the mission of his life. Young and inexperienced as she was, after she had given her hand to the beloved man she adapted herself exceedingly well to the duties of her arduous position, since all the domestic affairs and the care of a growing family devolved upon her. Her husband offered her his full sympathy. Once, when he was away from her during a very critical period, she said, referring to the distress then experienced, that indeed many a poor laborer's wife with her husband with her from day to day was more pleasantly situated than she was. Her husband puts these words down in his diary in a way which proves his tenderest compassion. But she rejoiced in his manly, active, energetic character, in the divine blessings

which manifestly rested on his labors, in the constant increase of his usefulness, in the high regard that was offered to him by the congregations, his clerical colaborers, and all right-minded persons in the most varied positions in life. He bears willing testimony to the good Christian principles which ever guided her. One word from his pen and from his heart which he enters in his diary after having happily lived in her companionship for nearly thirty years may suffice in this direction. "Last night," he says, "my wife had a very severe attack of sickness, and suffered greatly. She is now somewhat better. We had a conversation on spiritual matters. Her great concern was, among other things, this—that her children, her relatives, and friends might be saved and attain eternal bliss. This is proper and laudable: we must first in humble anxiety and sincerity seek our own salvation, but look also upon our children and friends as a property belonging to us, yet purchased by the Lord by the gift of his own blood and life for them: to him we should recommend them, presently and perseveringly praying for them." We may add that the hospitality exercised by Mrs. Mühlenberg was thankfully acknowledged by many pastors and friends who in her house were kindly received and liberally treated.

When Mühlenberg, in June, 1745, moved from Philadelphia to Providence, he not only acted so as to prove his good-will toward his colleague Brunnholtz, but he followed the inclination of his own heart. He preferred the country to the city, realizing that man had made the city, but God the country. To his decided preference for the country he gives expression on various occasions. The people of Providence were glad to have him among their fellow-citizens and neighbors, and a strong mutual attachment grew up, which made itself felt whenever occasions arose which called him away to distant fields of labor. That he built himself a house there on a piece of land belonging to him indicated that he intended to be permanently settled at Providence, and, although sometimes absent for extended periods, his headquarters were there until he was by peculiar circumstances in 1761 necessitated to

move with his family to Philadelphia. In Providence eight of the eleven children with whom his marriage was blessed were born; the first of them, John Peter Gabriel, born Oct. 1, 1746, was destined to make the name of the family renowned by his patriotism.

When Mühlenberg already in 1745 was requested to stretch out a helping hand to the Lutherans on the Raritan, he extended his influence in an eastern direction beyond the Delaware. Soon afterward his sympathies were engaged in Lutheran congregations to the west of his headquarters at Providence. There disturbances had taken taken place similar to those experienced in Philadelphia, in consequence of the objectionable position Zinzendorf and his assistants tried to take in the Lutheran congregations. In the congregations at Lancaster and York a Moravian emissary had also succeeded for a time in palming himself upon them as a Lutheran pastor. Here we simply state what Mühlenberg reports of his second visit to Lancaster and first one to York. Lancaster he had visited, in company with Brunnholtz, already in 1745; now he speaks of the year 1746. He says: "Toward the end of April I was necessitated again to visit Tulpehoken, and from there to go to the litigant congregation at Lancaster. This I did with the consent of my colleague Brunnholtz and our congregations. The circumstances forced me, though I foresaw that I would be rewarded with nothing but disgrace and trouble; for after about eighty protesting Lutherans had been acquitted by the civil authority, and those tending to Moravianism, with their pastor, Herr Nyberg, were nonsuited, the Lutherans desired, for justice' sake, that one of us should preach a sermon in the church, to which before they had no access. The Moravian party opposed it, and their attempt forcibly to prevent me almost created a tumult, one faction impelling me to go to the church, the other resisting me. All, however, passed off without a disturbance. The Moravians, seeing that they could not carry out their purpose, used the German newspaper to asperse my name; the other side, however, amply retorted. [This refers to Christoph. Sauer's

German periodical published at Germantown.] After this Nyberg with his party left the church to the Lutherans and began to build a house of worship of their own. The fact that the right reverend consistory of Sweden sent a response testifying against Nyberg [who was a Swede] had greatly contributed to this result." "From Lancaster I was called to a large congregation on the other side of the Susquehanna River, near the outmost borders of Pennsylvania, touching on Maryland. This congregation had occasionally been visited by Herr Nyberg so long as he was considered a genuine Lutheran preacher. The congregation consists of one hundred and ten families. Nyberg had promised to procure for them another pastor from Sweden, but after the quarrel at Lancaster had begun they would not have any further dealings with him. In that congregation I had to baptize a number of children and to confirm some whom the parochial teacher had instructed. From there I returned to Tulpehoken —a distance of forty-six English miles—where I again preached; from Tulpehoken I had fifty miles more to Providence and my congregations." The town here spoken of is York, and this is all the report Mühlenberg gives us of this his first and most extended missionary-tour in the western direction from Providence.

During the year 1746 the young family at Providence had the opportunity of entertaining a very remarkable visitor. The grandfather of Mrs. Mühlenberg, old John Conrad Weiser, came to see his descendants in Pennsylvania and to look into their circumstances. His life had been an unusually stormy one. Coming from the dukedom of Würtemberg along with the thousands of Palatines who during the summer of 1709 reached London, he was encamped with them in tents—given for this purpose by the English government—in the neighborhood of the city, toward Greenwich. When, in the following year, the government transported some three thousand of these German emigrants to the shores of the Hudson, Weiser was among them. In the troubles which a short time afterward broke out between these new settlers and Governor Hunter,

under whose injudicious and arbitrary measures they felt exceedingly uncomfortable, Weiser was one of the spokesmen. Hunter considered him a seditious ringleader. Weiser was conscientiously convinced that the Germans were wilfully maltreated by Hunter, and he resisted this deeply-felt injustice. Instead of trying wisely to pacify these strangers on the Hudson, Hunter never ceased to irritate them. He wanted them to repay the English government for its outlay in their behalf by producing naval stores—tar, rosin, etc. They desired to be independent settlers, cultivators of the soil, to establish comfortable homes for themselves by their industry. As such there can be no doubt they would have been a much richer source of advantage to the government. When a number of them—Weiser one of the foremost among them—in 1712 moved from the Hudson to the Schoharie Valley, they maintained that Mohawk Indians who in 1709 had been exhibited in London, and had become acquainted with the German emigrants, had given them that tract of land—an assertion which was not without some foundation. Hunter considered the exodus to the Schoharie a new rebellion in a new form, and set up fictitious counter-claims of some Dutchmen of New York to those lands. The Germans saw in this only another fraudulent measure of oppression, and resisted the government, sometimes with means not justifiable in the eyes of the law. Hunter intended to put Weiser, as the most outspoken and most obstinate rebel, in prison at New York, and to hand him over to the criminal court; but no officer of the law had the courage to touch Weiser. He and the Germans had a good understanding with the Indians. He allowed his son Conrad to live for a period of six months among them and to be on the most intimate terms with them. There young Weiser gained his knowledge not only of the language and manners of the Indians, but also of their peculiar feelings and of their views of men and things, which in his later life in Pennsylvania was of much advantage to him and to the commonwealth. Father J. C. Weiser was one of the three unfortunate delegates whom the Germans in

the Schoharie Valley in 1718 sent to the government in England to report their grievances and seek for redress. These three delegates found their way to Philadelphia, clandestinely embarked here, fell into the hands of pirates, by whom they —especially Weiser—were most cruelly maltreated, after having landed at Boston, finally reached London, and were there without friends and patrons. One of them, Wallrath, being homesick, embarked for America, and died on the sea; the two others, Weiser and Schaff, became involved in debt, were imprisoned almost a whole year, and of course in their cause with the government were counteracted by Hunter, who in 1719 had been recalled from his office as governor of New York. Weiser returned to America in 1722. The result of the mission to England was fruitless. The government of England directed, however, its representatives in the province of New York to parcel out to the Germans in the Schoharie Valley other lands upon which no claims were made. In the course of time many of the younger generation of Germans came to an understanding with those Dutchmen who by showing fraudulent titles pretended to have claims to the lands which were cultivated by the Germans. The Germans agreed to pay a trifling yearly rent. Other parties of the Germans moved, as we have already learned, in 1723, to Pennsylvania, and settled on the Tulpehoken. They were followed in 1729 by young J. Conrad Weiser. His father would not then leave the soil on which he had fought the long-continued battle of his life. But now, in his extreme old age, his heart gave him no rest. No doubt he had now and then heard of his son, of the progress the Germans were making in their settlements in free Pennsylvania, of the happy condition of the members of his own family, and undoubtedly also of Mühlenberg, his position and influence, and his marriage with his own granddaughter. All this was too much for the aged father; he could not quietly rest on the Schoharie. Like the old patriarch Jacob, he desired once more to see with his own eyes his son and his grandchildren, with all their friends, and then to die.

Of old Grandfather Weiser's visit at his house at Providence Mühlenberg speaks in a very feeling way. He says that his visitor came also with the special purpose of speaking with him about the concerns of his soul. When he arrived he was so much exhausted by the exertions of the long and arduous journey undertaken in his old age that he was brought to his house almost dead. After a day's rest he revived to some extent, and began with half-broken voice to repeat striking Bible passages referring directly to the salvation in Christ, to the forgiveness of sins through him, to Christ's call to all heavy-laden souls, and verses of the old German church-hymns of corresponding character. His eyes were dim, and his hearing was so defective that there could not be much conversation. Mühlenberg takes occasion to say: "Oh how good it is in our youth to lay up treasures taken from the word of God! Even if it does not produce the proper fruit in practice on account of many impediments, God remains true to himself and graciously shows his hand in his own good time. Methinks this aged father offered me a beautiful instance of this. I could here see how true it is that the Spirit of God is directly united with the word. It affords sincere joy to see how the old Evangelical Lutheran teachings were revivified in the soul." Having regained some bodily strength, the aged father received, after proper preparation, the Lord's Supper from the hands of Mühlenberg—a scene exceedingly affecting to all who were present. In conclusion he also united with all of them in praying the twenty-third Psalm, and selected the fifth and sixth verses of it as the text for the occasion of his burial. He remained a few days longer at Providence, and was then taken in a wagon sent by his son to Tulpehoken, where he rejoiced for a short period to "live with his Joseph in Goshen," and fell asleep while children and children's children sent up their prayers in his behalf. He was at the time of his departure between eighty and ninety years of age. To have undertaken, in his enfeebled condition, at such an age, so arduous a journey from the Schoharie to Pennsylvania is a striking proof

of the longing of his heart and of the indomitable energy of his will.

When Mühlenberg, in the summer of 1745, returned from the Raritan congregations, he kept their interests and precarious condition in his heart. They regained courage from the thought that they were an object of his care. Their situation was a very trying one. Mühlenberg tells us that Wolf, after quitting his office, was still there, "willing rather to rot than to move." So was another individual, Langenfeld, who years before had as a pastor served a portion of the whole field, but now was farming. Both of them were spectators, curious to see what turn things would take. Berkenmeier and the ministry of Hamburg were unwilling to allow any "Hallensis" to gain influence there. The congregations were deplorably demoralized, and afraid, in consequence of their troubles with Wolf, to put their signature to any call for a pastor; they had not yet church- and school-buildings, and for this expected help from the "Fathers" through Mühlenberg. We know that during the fall of 1745 he paid them a second, more protracted visit. Twice he repeated his visits during the following year. J. N. Kurtz was sent there toward the end of the same year (1745), returned in January, 1746, and spent also during the summer of this year three months with them. In the spring of 1747, J. H. Schaum was delegated to serve there, and spent a large part of the same year with these congregations. But in the November of that year the vagabond Carl Rudolph appeared there, brought greetings from Mühlenberg—which were, of course, wholly his own invention—and recommendations from the miserable scamp Andreæ, warning the people against any connection with the Halle pastors. Fortunately, Carl Rudolph there, as in other localities, succeeded in gaining adherents only for a short time. It did not take many months to understand his abominable character. But his presence had already proved a new cause of disturbance. Kurtz was sent there again in March, 1748, to restore order by a sojourn of about four weeks. Mühlenberg was greatly indignant at the carelessness and

want of judgment on the part of the leading men of the congregations in permitting Rudolph to play for a time there the rôle of a Lutheran pastor. He himself, accompanied by J. J. Loeser, again visited the Lutherans on the Raritan in July, 1748. The result of his labors among them was that the congregations (Aug. 7th) resolved to build in a central position one large church of freestone. The church was built. Mühlenberg also gave them a proper organization, each of the four congregations being represented in a common vestry by four elders and two deacons. Certainly this was a striking result of Mühlenberg's visit and influence, and promised good for the future.

From the fact that, in the year 1746, Lutherans settled in the Mohawk Valley, in the province of New York, addressed themselves to Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz petitioning for a suitable pastor, we learn how far the good report about the work begun among the German Lutherans in Pennsylvania had spread. Such petitions—the number of which increased from year to year—proved how large were the fields ripe already to harvest, and how necessary the prayers that the Lord would send forth laborers into his harvest.

These prayers were answered from time to time. The Fathers in Halle, by an extensive correspondence and the minute reports sent by the laborers in the American vineyard, were well informed about the circumstances existing there. Dr. Francke especially ever had a watchful eye to discover men of the proper qualities for the American work. He was prepared, two years after Brunnholtz, accompanied by Kurtz and Schaum, had left Germany, to send two others. He found one in whom he placed confidence, though he was not of a strong physical constitution. This was John Frederick Handschuh, born of godly Christian parents Jan. 14, 1714, at Halle, and baptized by Aug. Herman Francke, the author of the charitable institutions of that place, the father of Dr. G. A. Francke, the fatherly friend of Mühlenberg. Young Handschuh as a child was frequently attacked by sickness, and sometimes thought to be dead, but, growing

stronger, he made faithful use of the means of education which the classical schools of his native city and its charitable and learned institutions afforded to him. That his parents gave him a pious Protestant French teacher, under whose tuition he became master of the French language, was at a later period of his life of much advantage to him. After having, subsequent to 1733, taken a complete four years' course at the Halle University, he was called to Leipsic as tutor of a young nobleman, gave also instruction to a number of children of the nobility of the city, and at the same time profited by the advantages offered by the university. In 1737 the Duke Christian Ernest of Saxony-Saalfeld appointed him preceptor of his court-pages at Saalfeld. Here Handschuh experienced, under the teachings of Rev. Dr. Lindner and Herr von Bogatzky—the godly man whose small book for private edification has made the tour of the globe and done more good than many a learned and heavy volume of theology—a religious awakening which settled his convictions as to the course of his life. After having been examined and ordained by the consistory of Altenburg, he was appointed in 1744 pastor of the widely-extended Graba parish. Here the call of the destitute Lutherans in America came to him, and was accepted.

CHAPTER XII.

1747–1748.

Arrival of Rev. J. Fr. Handschuh.—Disturbed condition of the Lancaster congregation.—Mühlenberg's influence demanded.—J. N. Kurtz, settled at Tulpehoken, serves for a time at Lancaster.—Handschuh placed there.—Molatton.—Earltown (New Holland).—A Liturgy.—Mühlenberg, again on a missionary tour, visits Tulpehoken, Northkill (Bernville), Lancaster, York, Monocacy, Frederick, McAllistertown (Hanover).—Jacob Lischy.—L. T. Nyberg.—B. Maul.—Articles of church order.—Dissensions.—Moravian influences.—Rev. J. C. Hartwig.—Visits to Upper Milford, Saccum, and neighboring congregations.—Missionary work branches out to Birkensee (Perkasie, N. P. R. R.), Easton, Macungie, Salisbury, and other localities.—Catechist J. H. Schaum placed at York.—Mühlenberg's account of his pastoral work.—Correspondence and diaries.

WHEN Handschuh, after a very tedious voyage from London, arrived at Philadelphia, April 5, 1748, he paid with Brunnholtz a visit to Mühlenberg at Providence on the 9th and 10th of the same month. Having received from the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster a call dated May 16, 1748, he entered upon his pastoral duties the 26th of the same month.

Lancaster county was separated from Chester county in 1727 by the provincial government of Pennsylvania. From the year 1710 there was a strong influx of immigrants, especially Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and Germans from the Palatinate. The Germans, as the historian Dr. William H. Egle tells us, usually made arrangements with the agents of the Proprietaries, the Penn family, about buying lands before they came; as soon as they arrived they were naturalized at Philadelphia and received patents for their lands. The Scotch-Irish acted more independently, used squatter sovereignty, and pushed out beyond the Germans to the extreme frontier

of civilization. Among the Germans were many Lutherans, who in the course of time formed themselves into congregations in various localities. At Lancaster City, which dates its origin from the year 1730, the first congregational record was commenced by J. C. Stoever in the autumn of 1733. Stoever entered in it some baptisms and marriages of 1729. In the year 1733 or in the following year he took up his residence near Earltown (now New Holland), on the road leading from Pennsylvania to Maryland and Virginia, and at that time much frequented. The construction of a road from Philadelphia directly to Lancaster was resolved upon in 1733; the work was not completed until 1741. In December, 1732, Rev. J. Chr. Schulze, who had arrived Sept. 25th of the same year, and was accepted pastor by the congregations at Philadelphia, Providence, and New Hanover, paid a visit to Lancaster, possibly with a view to secure the services of Stoever for his congregations during his absence, since he intended to return to Europe and to raise charitable collections for his people. It is probable that Stoever, whom Schulze, before his departure for Europe, ordained at Providence in 1733, was the only Lutheran minister at Lancaster until 1742. Toward the end of this year Valentin Kraft, who during the summer had arrived at Philadelphia, gained some influence at Lancaster, and promised to preach there twice every month. Though dismissed as pastor in the following year, he retained a certain influence for four or five years. It appears that the pastor of the Swedish congregation at the Wicaco church at Philadelphia preached for the Lutherans at Lancaster from time to time during the years from 1742 to 1744. By his advice they sent, through Peter Kock at Philadelphia, a petition to the Church government of Sweden to supply them with a pastor. A theologian, Rev. Hedstrand, was found willing to go to Pennsylvania and to serve the Lancaster Lutheran congregation. He was ordained by the archbishop of Upsala, but, no money being sent to pay his travelling expenses, he relinquished the call. Rev. Gabriel Naesman of Gestricia, who expected to travel in company with Hedstrand, and was called

as successor of Dylander (who had died Nov. 2, 1741) to the Swedish congregation at Philadelphia, arrived here Oct. 20, 1743.

Now it appears that Lawrence Thorstonsen Nyberg, whom we have already mentioned, formerly an engineer, was induced secretly to join the Moravians through the influence of A. Gradin, one of the most energetic emissaries of Zinzendorf both in other countries and also in Sweden, and, having given some attention to theology and passed his examination as a candidate for holy orders in the Lutheran Church, heard of the vacancy of the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster, Pa. After his arrival here he gave Mühlenberg and Peter Kock at Philadelphia a decided assurance that in Sweden he had made the acquaintance of Arvin Gradin, but knew nothing of Zinzendorf, his peculiar teachings and plans. The fact is that in London he had intimate intercourse with Spangenberg and other Moravians. On the third Sunday in Advent, 1744, he introduced himself at Lancaster as a Lutheran pastor, was joyfully accepted, and began his pastoral work as the first pastor residing there in the midst of his flock. The fairest prospects were before him successfully to build up his congregation and to further the cause of the Lutheran Church, but it could not escape the notice of his hearers that instead of teaching, as he had solemnly promised to do, the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, he used phrases at that time quite in vogue with the Moravians calculated to throw contempt upon the old truths concerning faith, the law, repentance, and also the person, the nature, the office of Christ, and in this way to undermine the Lutheran faith among a Lutheran membership. Being questioned, he denied having any affiliation with the Moravians, while he secretly corresponded with them and visited their conferences. Toward those whom he gained over to his side by a deceiving show of a higher spirituality he used most flattering language. Of Mühlenberg and his associates he began here and there to speak as of a most dangerous class of people, and so fully convinced was he of the strength of his position that he not only married a Moravian

sister in the faith, but secretly made arrangements to hold a large conference of the Moravians in his congregation during the Advent season, 1745. This brought on a crisis. The officers and members of the congregation who were averse to his principles and dealings locked the church, which had been built in 1737, and finally an appeal was made to the civil authority to decide the case. In accordance with a decision given by the governor upon recommendations in favor of Nyberg from some English friends, Nyberg and his adherents were permitted to use the church on Sunday morning, while it was open for his opponents in the afternoon. Peace was not re-established by this arrangement. The opponents of Nyberg demanded the use of the church for themselves on a certain occasion for morning service. Their petition not being granted, they nailed up the doors of the church and positively refused Nyberg admission into the building; thereupon eight of the most prominent men among his opponents were brought by his adherents before court as disturbers of the public peace. The church was closed against each party until the court had decided. It happened, when the trial came off, that those eight men were declared "Not guilty." The church, however, remained closed against both parties. The Nyberg people maintained that they were true Lutherans; the others denied it. Nyberg preached to his flock in the hall of the court-house. J. Conrad Weiser, who at that time was a justice of the peace, made efforts, in connection with another magistrate, to unite the litigants by a private agreement. In consequence of losing the good-will of an English magistrate at Lancaster, Nyberg was no longer permitted to preach in the court-house. The archbishop of Sweden, to whom Nyberg had appealed as favorable to him, sent letters declaring Nyberg to be unfit for the pastoral office, and denying his assertion that the Moravians were acknowledged in Sweden to be true Lutherans.

This was the condition of the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster when Mühlenberg was brought into connection with it. That he was advised of all the circumstances and

proceedings before he exercised any personal influence he tells us himself. When the trial of those eight men before the court was to come off, he was most urgently petitioned to come to the defence of the Lutheran cause. He undertook, in company with Brunnholtz, to go at the proper time to Lancaster. He and his companion made the most strenuous efforts to bring about between the contending parties some sort of understanding and agreement, but did not succeed. On the Sunday preceding the trial both preached to the Lutheran party in a private house. By the verdict in favor of the eight men they and the large number of those who sided with them were no less surprised than Nyberg's adherents.

In the beginning of the summer of the following year (1746) Mühlenberg was most urgently requested by the Lutherans who had protested against Nyberg and his intrigues again to come to Lancaster and to preach to them. When he arrived there he learned that in case he made an attempt to preach in the church disturbances would take place. Some Moravians told him in plain language that members of their party would offer resistance to his preaching in the church. He resolved to preach in the court-house, and in the presence of some Moravians asked permission to do so of the mayor of the town. Early on Sunday, the appointed day, the officers and members of the Lutheran party met, and when Mühlenberg informed them that, to avoid tumult, he had resolved to preach in the court-house, they stated their reasons why they could not agree with his views on this point, and why it would be the best, on this occasion, to insist upon their right and title to the church, and urged him to preach in it. He could not refute their arguments. Half an hour before the public service began he addressed, however, a letter to the mayor and another to the Moravians. The bells were rung in the usual manner; the people quietly entered the church, and Mühlenberg preached on Luke xiii. 6–9. There was no disturbance. Nyberg, seeing that his claims to the church were lost, influenced his adherents to

build a church for themselves—not as a Lutheran, but as a Moravian, congregation.

The litigation was at an end, but the Lutherans had no pastor. A petition in April, 1746, was sent to Ziegenhagen in London, and to Francke in Halle, to procure for them a pastor. Mühlenberg was not in a position to take pastoral care of the Lancaster congregation. In December, 1746, Kurtz was sent as catechist to Tulpehoken to preach and to teach there; he also took care of the Northkill (now Bernville) congregation. Through the influence of J. C. Weiser, in Feb., 1747, he visited for the first time Lancaster. Naesman, pastor of the Swedish congregation at Philadelphia, had a few times held services for the Lutherans at Lancaster, but was unable to continue them. Kurtz now entered into an agreement to spend alternately two weeks at Tulpehoken, where at that time he held services in Reed's and in Christ Church, and two weeks at Lancaster. This arrangement, though under the circumstances the only one possible, was not calculated to satisfy the demands of a congregation which just at that time needed special care and protection, particularly as the influence exercised then by the man at the head of the parochial school was not a good one.

It has been already mentioned that the Rev. J. F. Handschuh had arrived at Philadelphia April 5, 1748. He had within a few weeks after his arrival preached in Philadelphia and Germantown, and after having gone to Providence—where Mühlenberg welcomed him with the significant words, "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy"—also at New Hanover, Providence, and Schippach, the preaching-station seven miles south of Providence. With his preaching Mühlenberg was well pleased. On April 12th they were joined at Providence by Brunnholtz. Very naturally, the thought occurred to him and Mühlenberg that Handschuh might be the proper man for the Lancaster congregation. All three were now ready to proceed to Lancaster. J. Fr. Vigera accompanied them.

Starting April 13th from Providence, they held, before

noon, services in English and German in a locality called Molatton, where for many years a Swedish congregation had existed which now was no longer properly sustained by the Swedish pastors. In the year 1746 an insidious disease in that region carried off many people, and was the special reason why Mühlenberg was invited there. The locality was about ten miles from Providence, the population very mixed —some old Swedes, some English, some Irish, and a sprinkling of Germans. Mühlenberg served them by preaching to them in the English language as often as his many other duties allowed. While an old Swedish pastor, Falk, was serving there some time before the arrival of Mühlenberg, the Moravians tried to gain influence in this place also. When, on one occasion, one of their emissaries, a young student of theology, Brycelius, entered the church, old Falk met him, and, addressing him with the words, "Thou comest to the sheepfold as a thief and a murderer!" gave him a smart slap on his face. The members assembled for service prevented further violence.

In the afternoon of April 14th the travellers arrived safely at Weiser's house, near the present Womelsdorf. The following day was given to rest, and to grateful remembrance of the venerable Fathers at Halle and of God's dealings with each of the brethren during the remarkable course of their lives. On April 16th they went to Christ Church, five miles distant, held preparatory services, paid a visit to Catechist Kurtz, and returned to Weiser's. On Sunday, April 17th, they repaired to Christ Church: Handschuh preached, and Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz gave the Lord's Supper to more than two hundred communicants. In the afternoon Kurtz preached at Reed's Church.

Among the communicants was Mrs. Weiser, with her children, but not Weiser himself. Here we touch a point which gave much concern to Mühlenberg. He says in his diary (April 16th): "There was a heavy burden on my heart. My father-in-law for many years had not been a guest at the Lord's Table, partly owing to the former want of regularly-

ordained ministers, partly in consequence of the seductive influence of different sects. From the time of my acquaintance with them he and his wife took care to have their children instructed and confirmed; they themselves, however, waited for a more favorable occasion, had also still some scruples about the use of different kinds of food, held the seventh day sacred [we remember Weiser's sojourn among the Seventh-day Mennonites at Ephrata],—all this in spite of my endeavors to show to them by correspondence and conversation that the essentials, sincere repentance and saving faith, should not be confounded with things which were not the substance, but mere shadows. The mother had for a long time desired to come to the Lord's Table, but wished the father to go with her. On the evening preceding our arrival I had requested my beloved colleague Brunnholtz to bring the subject before father. I myself am not long-suffering and patient enough in such matters if I do not carry my point at once. My brother Brunnholtz has the high esteem of father, and is peculiarly fitted for such a task. He began with all loving-kindness to invite him. Father said that the principal doctrines of our Evangelical Church, as she teaches them from the word of God and the interpretation of it in the Symbolical Books, were dear and precious to him; that he considered them essential to salvation; that he had at no time and nowhere found anything better; and that in his long life he had ample occasion to examine and to try all. As to the Lord's Supper, he would rather wait a little longer, until the Tulpehoken congregation had a regular ordained pastor and was brought into a more harmonious state; he was, however, not at all opposed to mother's preceding him this time. During the night following the celebration of the Lord's Supper in Christ Church, Father Weiser suffered with a most severe attack of sickness. He was apparently in imminent peril of life. This was just at that time especially annoying to the family, as the Moravians, who had formed a congregation of their own and erected a church—dedicated in April, 1745, by Bishop Spangenberg—had said they would not rest until they

had prayed Weiser to death." Weiser, having received the necessary medicine, lingered on in an extremely feeble condition. On the following day, Kurtz also having arrived, the ministers all united in supplication for the sufferer, and in their presence Mühlenberg asked him upon what ground he was willing to live and to die. Having answered this question to perfect satisfaction, he was again asked whether his conscience did not upbraid him as to his conduct in the troubles with the Moravians. He said that he had acted in this matter according to his best knowledge, conscientiously, and as before God, and felt no reproaches. Continuing, he requested that, as he had not communed the day before, the Lord's Supper should now be given to him, and that the pastors should receive it with him. This was done after confession and absolution. Weiser, with some assistance, but with difficulty, getting out of his bed to bow his knees before God, thus offered with many tears the prayer of a penitent and believing soul, and received the Lord's Supper. All this was calculated to leave a deep impression upon all the friends and to give special satisfaction to Mühlenberg. Weiser also told his guests of his entanglement with Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, and J. C. Fr. Cammerhof (also a Moravian bishop), showed them all his correspondence, and told them where his papers, documents, and letters could be found in case of his death. It seems that this correspondence never came to light. Weiser recovered from this severe attack of sickness; twelve years more were added to his pilgrimage on earth.

April 22d the travellers—to whom Kurtz was added—proceeded toward Lancaster, about thirty miles distant from Tulpehoken. Nine miles from Lancaster they were met by all the officers of the Lancaster congregation, who conducted them to the town. On the following day these officers, in the course of conversation on the state of the congregation, were informed that the intention was not to force upon their congregation Handschuh or any other pastor, but to see whether the members might be united in peace and harmony by the adoption of certain rules of order under the guidance

of which the welfare of the congregation could be promoted, as there was only one pastor sent by the Fathers at Halle, while the congregation of Tulpehoken, and those on the Raritan also, desired and needed regular pastors. On April 24th, Handschuh preached in an edifying manner on the Good Shepherd (John xii. 11–16) to a very large assembly. Even after the departure of Nyberg's adherents the congregation still numbered from sixty to seventy families. After services Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz proposed the question to the whole assembly whether they should be allowed to place a pastor here whom under present circumstances they could conscientiously select as the most suitable man. When this was assented to, the second question was put: Whether the congregation would, like their other congregations, elect a body of twelve officers, and, with certain constitutional articles as a guide, recognize them as their official superiors? When this also was assented to, they nominated, in addition to the six officers then serving—who were the most prominent and intelligent members—six others, the best they could find, and requested the members to proceed to the sacristy six at a time and give their votes. These twelve men having been elected, the members of the church acknowledged them by giving them their hands, and they then signed their names to the articles or rules of order laid before them. The whole transaction seemed to have a great effect upon the congregation. On the following day Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, after private prayerful consideration and deliberation, informed the assembled church council that they could not do better than propose Handschuh as pastor of the congregation. "Now," says Mühlenberg, "the secrets of their hearts were revealed. Three of the twelve, who had before made up their minds to have Kurtz, became restive; intimated that if Kurtz would not be appointed as the regular pastor they would resign their offices; that the congregation was poor, much dispersed; that the richest members had gone to the Moravians; that they could not raise the travelling expenses of Handschuh, and preferred the stronger voice of

Kurtz, etc., etc. The others, however, were glad, and expressed their full satisfaction with our proposition." Finally, all united in the same view. In a document framed with the consent of Handschuh he was to make a trial for the present, and was appointed pastor of the Lancaster congregation for half a year, or at the utmost a year, with the reservation that in case of the death of Mühlenberg or Brunnholtz their first united congregations should have the final claim upon him. About the middle of May following, Handschuh, accompanied by Schaum, the catechist, moved to Lancaster and entered upon his field of labor. Schaum was intended for the Lutheran congregation at York, there to test his pastoral ability, the congregation having for some time petitioned for a pastor.

April 26th, Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh, returning from Lancaster, held services at Earltown (now New Holland), distant from Lancaster twelve miles. Here a Lutheran congregation was organized perhaps soon after 1733, in which year J. C. Stoever had also in this locality begun a church record with two entries of pastoral acts performed as early as 1730. Lutherans had settled some years before in various localities in the neighborhood; they were united subsequently into one congregation. Earltown being selected as the most suitable place, a church was there erected, probably soon after 1733. J. C. Stoever served there from 1730 until 1746, as it appears, with the exception of one year, 1732. When he moved away, Val. Kraft, who had an influence also at Lancaster, was pastor from May, 1747, until March, 1748. The Lutherans had petitioned that the pastor at Lancaster might also to some extent serve them. The condition of the congregation was up to that time anything but satisfactory. Under the care of men of the character of Stoever as he was in those years, and of Val. Kraft as he always and everywhere proved himself, spiritual life could not increase. The desire to receive help from Mühlenberg and his friends deserved attention. Certain promises were given, provided the members came to a better agreement among themselves

and were willing to open their hearts to the Spirit from on high. Handschuh, after having taken up his residence at Lancaster, served them for some months as well as his other engagements permitted. When his services ceased, Tob. Wagner, then residing near Reading, became pastor at Earltown, distant from Reading about thirty-six miles—a circumstance which, as such, was a great impediment to proper pastoral care. He continued pastor there until 1755.

Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh after their return to Providence (April 27th) took a work in hand which was of much importance for the proper character of the public services, the administration of the sacraments, and the unification of the congregations. Mühlenberg says in his diary: "April 28th we held a conference at Providence and deliberated about a suitable liturgy [*Agende*] to be used by us and introduced into our congregations. Thus far, we had used a small formulary, but had nothing definite, in all its parts harmonious, since we thought it best to wait for the arrival of more laborers and to acquire a better knowledge of the conditions of things in this country. To adopt the Swedish Liturgy did not appear to be advantageous or necessary, since most of the members of our congregations from the districts on the Rhine and the Main considered singing of collects as papal. Neither could we select a liturgy according to the forms to which every individual had been accustomed, since almost every country town or village has its own. For this reason we took the liturgy of the Savoy congregation of London as the basis, abbreviated it or made additions to it as after due consideration of the circumstances in which we are here placed appeared advisable to us and calculated to edify, and adopted it tentatively until we had a better understanding of the matter, and determined to use it with a view of introducing into our congregations the same ceremonies, forms, and words. But, notwithstanding this, Herr Pastor Wagner and Stoever and some other narrow-minded men took occasion to instigate against us some simple-hearted people by the pretext that we ought to introduce the Liturgy of Würtem-

berg or of Zweibrücken; and they made them also believe that we intended to lead them away from the Lutheran doctrine and church order. For instance: We thought of using at the distribution of the blessed bread and cup the very words of the Lord Jesus: 'Take and eat, this is the body of Jesus Christ,' etc.; 'Take and drink, this cup is the new testament in the blood of Jesus Christ,' etc. At the baptism of children we intended to ask the sponsors, 'Do you in the name of this child renounce?' etc. On these points our opponents tried to produce agitation even before we had finished our work. We consequently made the changes at once, as the troubled consciences wanted it, saying, 'This is the true body,' etc., 'This is the true blood,' etc., and, addressing the child in baptism, 'Peter, Paul, Mary, dost thou renounce?' etc."

We had occasion to mention the name of York, west of the Susquehanna. The attention of Mühlenberg was, as we already know, in 1747 directed to the Lutherans in that town and in the vicinity, and even west of it, as well as to those at Lancaster, in such a pressing manner that he says in his diary, June of that year, he was necessitated to travel through Pennsylvania to Maryland. It was a missionary-tour in behalf of the Lutheran congregations and dispersed Lutherans settled in those parts toward the boundary of Maryland. After having celebrated Whitsuntide of 1747 with his congregations, which assembled in large numbers on the occasion, he left New Hanover, June 10th, in the enjoyment of good health and in company with J. J. Loeser, and arrived on the evening of the following day at J. C. Weiser's residence at Tulpehoken. J. N. Kurtz had been laboring diligently there since Dec. 16, 1746. As a catechist he could preach and teach, and also baptize. In very exceptional cases catechists were permitted to give to the sick in peril of death the Lord's Supper. The public celebration of the Lord's Supper was left to the regularly-ordained ministers, who from time to time for this purpose visited the congregations served by catechists. For this reason Mühlenberg now administered the Lord's Supper at

Christ Church, Tulpehoken, to more than two hundred communicants. He found the spiritual condition of the congregation hopeful. The recently-erected church, built of freestone, was not yet quite free of debt. It was not yet provided with pews, but Weiser had just then advanced the sum of money necessary for that purpose. There were twenty acres of land bought, so that the pastor might keep a horse and a cow. The congregation had just begun to erect a commodious, solid parsonage near the church, high upon the embankment of the river, and presenting toward the west a lovely view of it. This parsonage is still used. A fine large church was erected there in 1785, renovated in 1885, and with much taste adapted to the necessities of the present generation.

In the afternoon of the same Sunday, Mühlenberg rode a distance of eight or nine miles to the Northkill congregation —which with Tulpehoken formed then one parish—preached there to a very attentive congregation, and promised to administer the Lord's Supper to them three weeks later. He was much pleased to observe that the people were greatly benefited by the preaching of Kurtz and entertained much respect for him. In external things also they provided sufficiently and willingly for him. They felt, however, the need of a regularly ordained pastor in their midst. During Mühlenberg's visit to Tulpehoken and his more extended absence from home Kurtz officiated in his place at New Hanover and Providence.

June 19th, Mühlenberg with his companion Loeser arrived at Lancaster. The deplorable condition of the Lutheran congregation in those days in consequence of the influence of the pseudo-Lutheran-Moravian agitator Nyberg is already known to us. He had attracted to his side about eight or ten of the wealthiest Lutheran families and preached to his flock in his newly-erected church, wherein he was from time to time assisted by a Reformed pastor, Jacob Lischy, by Bishop Cammerhof, and by other Moravians. The arrangement had already been made that Kurtz should preach to the Lutherans who had rejected Nyberg, and should serve alter-

nately two weeks here and the following two weeks at Tulpehoken. During the absence of Kurtz the Lutherans had no service; in consequence of which numbers of them would attend Nyberg's preaching and come away with bad impressions. This served to keep the congregation in a restless condition and to demoralize it. There was strife among the members as well as among its officers. Some who wished to resign were dissuaded by Mühlenberg from doing so under present circumstances. He preached to the Lutherans June 21st, first Sunday after Trinity, held catechization, baptized some children, and persuaded the members to elect a new officer, as one of the number had died.

On the same day, travelling westward with Loeser, they crossed, ten miles distant from Lancaster, the Susquehanna in a boat during a violent storm. Mühlenberg says in his diary that during the great danger he prayed God would in his mercy avert any disaster, as the Moravians, in malice, might construe such a thing to their advantage. When they finally, though late at night, arrived at York, numbers of Lutherans in their joy assembled, in spite of the lateness of the hour.

When Mühlenberg paid this his second visit to York he found a rapidly-growing town. York county was separated from Lancaster county and made a new district Aug. 19, 1749. It was the first county in Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna. The Proprietaries of Pennsylvania were averse to settlements on lands which had not yet been obtained from the Indians by regular contracts. Not before 1736 were all the claims of the Five Nations upon that part of Pennsylvania satisfied. Settlers had, however, as early as 1729 entered. The first settlements were made at Kreutz Creek (a name of later origin) especially by Germans, and on the Pigeon Hills by English immigrants. To the difficulties arising from the uncertainty about the boundary-line between Pennsylvania and Maryland we have formerly alluded.

There were settlers in the neighborhood of the present city of York already in 1731. The oldest record of the Lutheran congregation begins in September, 1733. This book was

bought by the contributions of twenty-four male persons, sixteen of whom arrived in the years 1731 and 1732; only four of the entire number passed through Philadelphia before 1731. In September, 1733, during one of his pastoral explorations, Stoever visited that part of the country and gathered the Lutherans settled on the Codorus Creek into a congregation. In the church records he entered baptisms and marriages; there are records of funerals only after 1748. The congregation had elders and deacons from 1733. Services at first were most probably held in a private dwelling. On the land on which the town of York arose no houses had at that time been erected. The plan for building the town dates from 1741. The settlers were farmers, who lived each on the land he had taken up. Within a few years the town increased considerably. It naturally formed the centre of the Lutheran congregation, the pastor serving in later years also the Lutherans on Kreutz Creek. Stoever came usually once every month to York from his residence, near Earltown, for a period of about ten years; in 1743 he resigned at York, probably finding his field of labor too extensive. April 28, 1743, David Candler served at York. Of him we know that he lived about a mile south-west of the present Hanover, that he was married, that in May, 1743, he began to gather a congregation at Hanover (then McAllistertown), and another on the Monocacy, ten miles east of Frederick, Md. Whether he were ordained, or, if so, by whom, we do not know. After May, 1744, he made no further entries in the church records. Possibly the work in such a field and under difficult circumstances was too much for his constitution. Leaving an excellent character to posterity, he died Dec., 1744. Law. T. Nyberg, who just then had taken charge of the Lutheran congregation at Lancaster, spoke at his grave. In that year the first church, a log building, was erected at York, on ground still owned by the Lutherans there. A church was probably erected there in the times of Stoever, though in another locality. After Candler's death the Lutherans at York were served by Nyberg, who had there a sympathizer with his Moravianism—Jacob

Lischy, the Reformed preacher already mentioned. Nyberg had promised to have a regular Lutheran pastor sent also to this congregation from Sweden, which promise he never intended to fulfil; but he tried to introduce emissaries from Bethlehem, the Moravian headquarters in America, at York, at Monocacy, and also at other places. What his real intentions were could not remain long concealed, and the reaction began at York and other localities as far as Frederick, and ended Nyberg's services among Lutherans. At York, where a decided Lutheran parochial teacher, Bartholomew Maul, exercised an influence, it was resolved to continue the services regularly, to have every Sunday a sermon read and the youth instructed, so as to prepare them for the confirmation by a regular Lutheran pastor.

Mühlenberg says that at this his second visit to York he felt greatly embarrassed. The Lutheran and the Reformed congregations were both divided—the latter, in consequence of Lischy's underhanded working for Moravianism; the former, through the arts of Nyberg, who by his animated, lively manner of preaching knew how to attract those who had some experience of spiritual life. But there were on each side, among friends and foes of Nyberg, numbers of individuals who had experienced a spiritual awakening, and listened with delight to Mühlenberg's preaching; only such words as "law," "repentance," "prayer," etc., which in the Moravian peculiar religious phraseology of that time had fallen into contempt, were unwelcome to the Nyberg people, though he clearly demonstrated their truth and propriety from the Bible and the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church. Whenever he felt necessitated to controvert the preaching of Nyberg and the Moravians, they almost thought that he was sinning against the Holy Ghost. He was, however, pleased to see that the controversies then going on among the people had served to make the Lutherans, the anti-Nyberg party, search more diligently the Scriptures and the Catechism. Laudable as their zeal for orthodox doctrine was, Mühlenberg regretted that they did not always exercise proper moderation nor in

every case adorn pure doctrine with a holy walk and conversation. Yet he was happy to see that some of the Lutherans had during the warm disputes acted in such a uniformly Christian, moderate, and circumspect manner that he ascribed it to a special grace.

Travelling with his companion onward, on June 22d on the extreme borders of Pennsylvania they reached the Conewago congregation, which they found in equal confusion. Here, also, Nyberg had friends and antagonists. Mühlenberg spoke in kindness to them and made efforts to reconcile them. He enjoyed, apparently, the respect of both sides. He promised them that as soon as one of the united ministers should settle at York they would from time to time be visited, and that, if ever possible, he would find a good teacher for them, to instruct the youth and on Sundays to read a sermon to the congregation. Some of the partisans of Nyberg complained that the others had for a time been friends of the ill-reputed Carl Rudolph and had allowed him to preach. The others excused themselves, saying that he had at first imposed upon them by his fair show and the ordination documents and seals he exhibited, but that they had cast him out as soon as they learned what a wicked fellow he was.

On June 22d, Mühlenberg preached to them in a large barn, as many people had assembled from near and far. Some requested the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but he was obliged to refuse, saying that they needed first proper repentance for their sins and application of the word of God. He baptized some children, at the same time reminding parents and sponsors of their duties. He also met with some who in the very first years of his labors had been members of his congregations, and, hearing him proclaim the word of God, were now moved to tears and bitterly complained that they were without the means of grace.

Two men had arrived from Maryland to take Mühlenberg to a place thirty-six miles off. They started at two o'clock P. M. in a drenching rain. They made eighteen miles over terrible roads before night, but found no house at which to

stay, and were obliged to continue riding through the wilderness, with the rain pouring down heavier and the poor horses wading up to the knees through water and mire, until, at two o'clock in the morning, totally worn out and half dead, they reached their quarters. This was the place called Monocacy, ten miles east of Frederick, Md. Mühlenberg found here a log church, but the congregation also divided in the same way as in other localities. Nyberg had also been manœuvring here, and had tried to smuggle a Moravian into a Lutheran congregation. Here, also, the church was finally closed against him; but he had found some to defend him against the others, as for a time they had allowed themselves to be deceived by Carl Rudolph. For a year they had petitioned for one of the united ministers to come and administer the Lord's Supper. As, since they had discarded Nyberg and Carl Rudolph, they had shown respect for Mühlenberg and his brethren in the sacred office, and confidence in them, and had sent a contribution for the enlarging of the Germantown church, their petition could not be refused. They were pleased to see Mühlenberg, though he felt sad when he witnessed the disturbed condition of the congregation, and was convinced that both parties had acted uncharitably.

June 24th, while the drenching rain continued, most of the Lutherans assembled at the church; three or four of those leaning to Moravianism were also present. Before the services began Mühlenberg wrote in the English language, in the book of church records, a number of articles concerning the order to be observed in the congregation—among others, that the German Lutherans professed their faith in the holy word of God as given by prophets and apostles, in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other Symbolical Books of the Church; that wherever possible they had the sacraments administered among themselves, in accordance with those writings, by regularly called and ordained pastors, and consequently, with those as a guide, would not tolerate among their membership those who were known grossly and wilfully to sin against the holy laws of God contained in the

commandments or against those of the Christian civil authority. After publicly reading these articles to the congregation and explaining them in the German language, he requested all who were Lutherans, or intended to be and to remain such, to sign their names. The Lutherans present willingly gave their names. The Moravians, however, did not, but stated that heretofore they had observed all those articles; that for some years they had had no regular pastor and had been occasionally visited by a Swedish or a German minister from Pennsylvania, whom in their poverty they could not properly pay; that they had therefore been necessitated to call a Lutheran pastor from Bethlehem, Brother Nicky. They believed that he taught pure doctrine according to the word of God and the Symbolical Books, but the other, larger, party opposed his introduction into the church, and had permitted such an unordained, wicked deceiver as Carl Rudolph to hold public services in it. For these reasons they had separated from such a congregation, and intended to erect a church on a piece of ground of their own. The others said that they knew of no Pennsylvania pastor who had complained of not having been paid properly for his services. Mühlenberg asked if they alluded to him, or if they had ever given or he had demanded any money of them; which both sides denied. He told them that both parties had erred and been the cause of much reproach and injury to the truth—that the sainted Luther had warned his people against two devils, a black one and a white one, and that the emissaries of both do much harm. Then, after singing with them a penitential hymn, he preached on the Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 11.) To his question, put to those who leaned to Moravianism, whether they would now unite with the others and sign their names to the articles in the minute-book, they said that they would, provided he would remain and be the pastor. After some exchange of sentiments the larger party modestly expressed their views, and said that they had heard him this day for the first time; that he had spoken of repentance, faith, godliness, while the Moravian Brethren had in their sermons ridiculed such words as

these, together with the terms "law," "prayer," and the important truths connected with them. Knowing what erratic extravagances, in those years of a sickly religious excitement, prevailed among the Moravians, we can understand the crudely-expressed but instinctively-true feelings of these opponents of Moravianism. After further admonition and entreaties, Mühlenberg so far succeeded in restoring the two parties to a better understanding that the representatives of the two sides expressed their readiness to forgive each other for the harsh words they had used. Thus, says Mühlenberg, they at least said; of their hearts he could not judge. Those who had given their names now met, elected elders and deacons, and promised to rule the church in agreement with the articles to which they had given their signatures. They entreated Mühlenberg to administer the Lord's Supper. He finally consented, but took occasion to clear his conscience, and, while they were still present, to address the Moravians most forcibly on the necessity of repentance and of walking, clothed in the righteousness of Christ, in his holy footsteps. They all bowed their knees before the Divine Majesty, and after confession and absolution received the sacrament.

Mühlenberg, in giving his reasons for entering these articles in the minute-book of the church, says he was moved to do so because the Moravians habitually, in every congregation where they make inroads, attract to themselves the most respected, liberal, and richest people, and as soon as they have a party on their side the strife begins with words, often leads to deeds of violence about the possession of churches and school-houses, and produces the most distressing altercations and bad feelings between parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, neighbors and relatives, whereby the words of Matt. x. 34–37 are perverted, and those found in Jer. xiv. 14, xxiii. 21, Gal. v. 15, 2 Cor. xii. 20 applied to those for whom they were not meant. The English magistrates, noticing the tumults and strife among the Germans, do not understand their cause, while the Moravians are not slow to bring the Germans into bad repute as rebels

against God and the civil government. He also points out that laws and rulers are indispensably necessary to prevent indifferent individuals from taking up with vagabonds and allowing them to act as pastors. But, says he, laws and signatures will be of little avail unless we furnish the helpless people with suitable godly ministers.

Proceeding farther, June 25th, they came, after a ten-mile ride, to Frederick, a town just then laid out. A number of Lutherans living here were members of the Monocacy congregation, but had on the previous day been prevented by the pouring rain from meeting with the others. Most of them gave their signatures to the articles. They also elected elders and deacons from their own number. Some few had attached themselves to Schmidt, whom Mühlenberg, as previously stated, after his arrival in Pennsylvania had met at New Hanover; he had come back to Maryland from a visit to Virginia. Mühlenberg found a large assembly of English and German people. After preparatory services he administered the Lord's Supper to a number of Lutherans who had earnestly requested to receive it, baptized some children, and united two couples in holy wedlock. During the evening he returned to his quarters at Monocacy. Here and in the town the Lutherans entreated him to consider their destitution, and to intercede for them with the Fathers in Europe. They promised to keep united among themselves as long as possible. We add here that, certainly in 1743, Dav. Candler—of whom we heard in connection with York—served the Lutherans at Monocacy and at Frederick. To the latter place Gabr. Naesman, pastor of the Swedish church at Philadelphia, made a visit in 1746. In 1749 old Val. Kraft settled at Frederick. He was not acknowledged as the pastor of the congregation; finding, however, some adherents, he was permitted to preach at some places. He was apparently in destitute circumstances; was charitably assisted also by the English people, and died there in 1751. Another irregular pastor, Streiter, a schoolmaster, who had never been ordained, in 1743 had served the congregations in Old Goshenhoppen and Indianfield in Eastern

Pennsylvania, moved from place to place, and tried in 1751 to get hold of the Frederick congregation. The more numerous and better part of the members, acting in accordance with the articles of Mühlenberg, successfully opposed him, and, in consequence of a petition sent by them to the united ministers, J. H. Schaum, stationed at York, paid them visits in 1751 and 1752. In the latter year Rev. Bernhard Michael Hausihl (later often found "Hauseal")—of whom we shall hear more hereafter—moved there and found Streiter still present with a party stubbornly attached to him, and the congregation in a deplorable condition. From the beginning of 1753 until December, 1758, Hausihl was recognized as pastor of the congregation.

June 26th, Mühlenberg and his companion, J. J. Loeser, began their journey homeward. After riding a few miles they were met by an English gentleman, who invited them to his house, offered them refreshments, and desired to know Mühlenberg's opinion of the condition of the German church-members in Maryland. Mühlenberg said that all of them needed deeper experience in true repentance, living faith, and practical godliness. His host, who was strongly inclined to the Moravians, replied that the "small party" were friends of Jesus. Mühlenberg took occasion to show him that, while he was no personal enemy to any of the Moravians, he was averse to their crooked ways, their hanging the cloak as the wind blew, adapting themselves in England to the Anglican Church, in Switzerland to the Reformed, in Russia to the Russian Church, etc.; that they taught in a manner which was not in agreement with the word of God, as could be learned from some of their own publications, though they had never, as a Church, published a confession of faith. We add, that this was done in 1778 by Bishop Spangenberg, who published the *Idea fidei fratrum;* which book, however, does not sanction any of the errors of former years and the practices used in the times when Mühlenberg unavoidably came into conflict with Zinzendorf and his adherents. Mühlenberg's host certainly was a well-meaning man, who, unfortunately, had per-

sonal knowledge only of such so-called Lutheran pastors as Carl Rudolph, Streiter, Schmidt, and others of a similar character, contrasted with whom the Moravian emissaries were certainly, as to their personal conduct, deserving of all respect. But as that gentleman told his guest that the Anglican clergyman of the parish to which he belonged was a drunkard, and that his predecessor in the office had been like him, we can readily understand the man's preference for the much more respectable Moravians. Finally, his host begged Mühlenberg to seek and send a man who, being sound in the fundamental doctrines, repentance and faith, would walk according to them; this would gladden his heart and those of many others.

The travellers that day came to Conewago, and at noon the following day arrived at York. Here Mühlenberg had at once to make the necessary preparations for a proper celebration of the Lord's Supper on the following day. He entered in the church records the names of those who desired to participate in it. He reminded the officers and members, who had saved the congregation from the designs and intrigues of the Moravians, to beware of distraction and contentions, to turn, praying for forgiveness of their sins, to God, and now impartially to testify concerning the character of every one of those who wished to be admitted to the Lord's Supper. He also listened to charges against the aged parochial teacher B. Maul, which to a large extent were found to be exaggerations. Some of the officers were earnestly entreated to have more control over their excited feelings and words. Some of the members who handed in their names were required at once to make peace with those with whom they had been quarrelling. The name of one member, who was unwilling to be reconciled with the justice of the peace who brought charges against him, was rejected until he would show a better spirit. The officers charged some who by the preaching of Nyberg had been spiritually awakened with having absented themselves from the regular church services and attached themselves to Nyberg and his friends; they were not willing to promise an exclusive attachment to the congregation unless a pastor of a

godly character and life were sent to them by the united ministers. The reading of a sermon on Sundays was not sufficient for them; they found greater pleasure at home in searching the word of God and the Catechism. They were privately addressed, and three or four of them appeared the following day at the Lord's Table. With the officers also Mühlenberg conversed separately, listening to their opinions and advising caution and moderation.

At four o'clock that afternoon Mühlenberg held preparatory services, spoke on Matt. xi. 8, and was pleased to see a very close and appreciative attention to his words. After these exercises he examined a number of catechumens whom the school-teacher had instructed with satisfactory results according to the "Order of Salvation," and admonished them as candidates for confirmation, spoke to some individuals about their spiritual state, and in the evening gathered the officers to converse with them on religious subjects. On the following morning, Sunday, June 28th, some other persons, coming from great distances, handed in their names; with these also preparatory services were held. At the public services almost the half of the large assembly were obliged to stand outside of the church: some had come a distance of ten, and even twenty, miles. Mühlenberg preached on the great marriage-feast (Matt. xxii. 2), baptized a number of children, examined and confirmed fifteen catechumens, administered the Lord's Supper to two hundred communicants, offered thanks with all kneeling, and dismissed the congregation. In the evening he was the guest of the justice of the peace mentioned above, who belonged to the Reformed Church and was strongly influenced by the Moravians. He gave his views to him about Nyberg and his crooked ways in a manner no less dignified than decided.

Having on June 29th safely crossed the Susquehanna River and arrived at Lancaster, he met once more with all the elders and deacons of the Lutheran congregation, and tried his best to heal all the dangerous dissensions existing among them. He also made arrangements with them that J. N. Kurtz,

whenever he paid his bi-weekly visits there, should not lodge in an inn, but in a private dwelling. On the evening of June 30th he was again among his relatives at Tulpehoken, where, July 1st to 3d, he continued the instruction given by Kurtz to some catechumens; on the 4th held preparatory services at Northkill; on the 5th preached there, baptized some children, examined and confirmed the catechumens, administered the Lord's Supper, and rode eight miles to the more numerous meeting at Christ Church to hold services there. Returning to the residence of Weiser, he found an Indian chief there with his retinue. Concerning the conversion of the Indians, he gives in his diary Weiser's views on this subject—viz.: That among many other rules it would be necessary for missionaries to live among them, master their language, adopt as much as possible their manners and clothing, leading, however, blameless lives; translate Scripture truths into the Indian language in the plainest manner; deliver the law and the gospel to them, singing the Indian melodies to create an impression; and then patiently wait for God's blessing and the fruits of their labor. Large numbers of Indians were in those days found in most parts of Pennsylvania. Mühlenberg had frequent occasion to meet them and to show his good-will toward them, though he could not work for their conversion in a direct way, since his time, strength, and talents were exhaustively employed in other directions. He had at a certain time exercised his hospitality to one of their chiefs and his companions at his house at Providence. Seventeen years later that chief reminded him of that act of kindness, adding that on that occasion the Indians had invented for Mühlenberg a special name—viz. *Gachswungarorachs*, indicative of the peculiar work of a sachem or teacher, whose words ought to go through the hard, obstinate minds of men like a saw through knotty trunks of trees. He also said that in former times one of their own sachems had been given that name.

July 7th, Mühlenberg, with his companion, returned to Providence, where he found his colleague Brunnholtz and

the Rev. J. C. Hartwig. Brunnholtz soon became sick with the measles, on which occasion Mühlenberg prescribed for him, and saw his efforts—he describes his *modus operandi*—crowned with success. John Christopher Hartwig—whose acquaintance Mühlenberg made at that time, and with whom, under various circumstances, he afterward came into contact—was a native of the province of Thüringen in Germany, was born Jan. 6, 1714, and died, eighty-two years old, July 17, 1796, at the residence of the Livingston family, near Clermont, on the Hudson. After having finished his university course in Germany, and having been for a short time engaged in missionary work among the Jews, he followed a call, given him through the Rev. Dr. Wagner, senior of the Hamburg ministry, to Palatine Lutheran congregations on the Hudson—Camp and Rhinebeck. On his arrival in the New World he landed at Philadelphia. With Berkenmeier and his associates on the Hudson he had no sympathy. Berkenmeier, who was to an extent the cause of his coming here, and found that he was not congenial, was for this and other reasons averse to him, and denounced him in four pamphlets as a Moravian. It was natural that Hartwig should seek association with Mühlenberg and his friends, with whom he certainly stood in nearer spiritual affinity, though he totally lacked Mühlenberg's practical wisdom, perseverance, energy, and success. That he remained a bachelor all his life may have contributed to his unsteadiness. That in an underhanded way he found fault with Mühlenberg for not having taken the part of Wolf in the Raritan congregational difficulties proves that as a friend he was unreliable and as a judge either shortsighted or unjust. The gift of his estate by will to mission-work among the Indians—to which interest it never was applied—proves that he had the increase of the kingdom of Christ at heart.

In the month of August in the same year (1747) Mühlenberg paid a visit to the Lutherans in Upper Milford, Saccum, and probably some more distant localities, since he tells us that the distance on his return was thirty miles. His expo-

sure to rain and storm after his return brought on a burning fever, and he was laid up for two weeks; yet, on account of certain pastoral duties, he left his bed and house too soon, and had to suffer, in consequence, with intermittent fever. J. J. Loeser, his companion on the western tour, was also troubled with fever for twelve weeks. In the district to which Upper Milford and Saccum (Saucon) belonged Lutherans were most probably found years before Mühlenberg took an interest in them. From 1745 he visited them once every four weeks—occasionally, also, sent them J. Fr. Vigera, J. N. Kurtz, and J. J. Loeser. The people were pleased to hear Loeser read to them one or the other of Rambach's sermons, or catechize the young, or even in cases of extreme necessity baptize their children. There was much regret when, in October, 1748, Loeser was called to Lancaster. In February of the same year, Mühlenberg, in travelling to those congregations, was in great danger of losing his life. During the visit in that year mentioned above he gave to these churches a certain organization by selecting and installing elders and deacons. But from those points his missionary work branched out in various directions. As special localities, Birkensee (now Perkasie), Easton, Macungie, Salisbury, and others may be mentioned. When Mühlenberg could no longer personally attend to these outposts, he took care that other suitable men continued the work; but his interest in their welfare never ceased, and he saw numbers of self-supporting congregations established in these parts.

We remember that after Mühlenberg's visit in the year 1747 to York, since no pastor was found for the congregation, things there were left essentially in their former condition, with this exception: that through Mühlenberg's efforts the Lutheran cause was strengthened against Moravian attacks. Probably services were regularly held on Sunday in the church, the school-teacher reading a sermon. When, in May, 1748, Handschuh accepted the call from the Lancaster congregation, the interests of York were again considered, and it was resolved to send J. H. Schaum there as a catechist.

May 17, 1748, he was introduced by Handschuh to the congregation. Handschuh also held confirmation and administered the Lord's Supper. Handschuh then returning to Lancaster, Schaum began his pastoral labors. His charge consisted of the congregations at York, Conewago (Hanover), and Bermudian. Dissensions still existing at York greatly impeded his efforts, but the menace of the united pastors that they would take him away had a wholesome effect; the parties showed a willingness to be reconciled, and Schaum had within a year gained the respect and good-will of the people to such an extent that in the spring of the following year they requested his ordination.

Dec. 9, 1747, Rev. J. N. Kurtz was united in wedlock by Mühlenberg to Miss Anna Elizab. Seidel of New Hanover. J. J. Loeser, the teacher—who, as he well deserved, is sometimes honored with the title "catechist"—was married Nov. 10, 1747, at New Hanover to Miss Mary Margaret Epple. Mühlenberg, referring to this event, says in his diary: "During the present winter Jac. Loeser attends to the school at New Hanover; he was almost necessitated to marry, since he had to live quite alone in the school-house and could no longer take care of his household. He married the stepdaughter of one of the deacons. She has led a quiet, respectable life, and now takes care of his household, which allows him to attend better to his duties as a teacher. He still travels every third week to the mountains, to Saccum and Upper Milford, reads one of the sermons of the sainted Rambach on the Catechism, and catechises the children according to the *Glaubens-Lied* [the main doctrines of the Catechism given in verses by Ziegenhagen, in those times frequently used, also added to the edition of Luther's *Small Catechism*, by Christ. Sauer of Germantown, 1752]. The people love him, and are edified by his manner of delivery and by his conversation."

Taking a retrospect of his pastoral labors during the year 1747, Mühlenberg says: "During this year I was compelled to omit work on four Sundays on account of sickness. As to the rest, I preached, whenever not travelling, every

Sunday morning in the main churches [Providence and New Hanover], catechised the adults and the young, preached as circumstances required, in both of them, in the afternoon, in English.* During the week-days I served, preaching the word of God, the outlying congregations at Schippach, on the other side of the Schuylkill, in the Oley Mountains, and other places. In each congregation I administered the Lord's Supper twice during the year, baptized one hundred and nineteen children, and confirmed thirty-five young persons. May the merciful and faithful Father in Christ not allow his word to return to him void, but grant that among old and young it may in this lamentable wilderness be blessed and bring forth lasting fruit! Looking upon my parish and the outposts, there is a circle of more than thirty miles wherein the members of the Church are dispersed. My saddest concern is that to the special care of each soul there is too little time and opportunity given. During the winter months one must be glad if the general duties in the churches and at the outposts can be attended to. Frequently the roads, the rivers, the storms, the cold, the snow, the weather, are such that one would not like to drive his dog out of the house; yet the pastor must go his round. God in his mercy often saved me in most imminent danger and preserved my poor bones when horse and rider fell. During the summer the families are so overburdened with work that scarcely any one can be found in the house but little children locked up there; the others are

* There was in the districts of New Providence and New Hanover a considerable sprinkling of English-speaking people among the German settlers. They were originally not Lutherans, but gladly accepted Mühlenberg as a preacher of the gospel in their language. F. G. Hobson, Esq., of Norristown, says in his articles on the history of New Providence, which appeared in the *Providence Independent*: "The origin of this name 'Providence' is not certainly known, but tradition says it was settled by some of the followers of Roger Williams of Rhode Island. Nearly a century before this Roger Williams had named his settlement 'Providence,' now the capital of Rhode Island. Hence his followers coming here called this region 'New Providence.' But we soon find it losing the 'New' and retaining its name 'Providence.'" We add that in New Hanover a log church was erected in 1721, a second one in 1741–47. A stone church, which is still in use, having been renovated in 1868, was erected there in 1767–68.

forced to work to find their bread. I have hardly any other time or opportunity for special pastoral care except on Sundays, when during service I catechise the adults [a practice very general in those times], and after service the young; also when, during the week, before communion service, individuals present themselves, or in cases of sickness, death, baptism, and the like. Saturday and Sunday I am obliged to labor and to travel without intermission. During the week I ought to be at home a few days in succession; but one day there is a child in peril of death, which ought to be baptized: thus a day is spent with travelling; the next day a sick person wants a visit: this consumes another day; the third there is perhaps a funeral, which again requires no less time. Thus things go. Where is time to be found for study? How can a man who rarely spends a day at home take care of his house, his wife, his uneducated children, his servants? Willingly do I go at any day or any time left free to me and visit souls in whom the Spirit has begun his work. Where is time given to keep the necessary correspondence with the venerable Fathers and the friends in Europe, and with the beloved brethren in this vast country?"

Yet Mühlenberg continued to carry on an extensive correspondence, not only with his brethren in the office and many other individuals in this country, but with the Fathers in Halle and with other individuals who took an interest in the mission-work in America; and, at the same time, he never ceased to continue his diaries, which, amounting to many volumes in folio, serve us this day as the main source of all the historical information here communicated, without which our knowledge of his life would be extremely limited.

During October, 1747, he had once more to pay a visit to Tulpehoken, as serious sickness had broken out in the family of his father-in-law. During the winter 1747–48 pleurisy prevailed to a large extent in the district of Mühlenberg's congregations. His own family experienced (1748, Jan. 29th) another increase by the birth of a daughter, to whom the name Eve Elizabeth was given in holy baptism.

CHAPTER XIII.

1748.

J. N. Kurtz again sent to the Raritan congregations.—Handschuh begins his labors at Lancaster.—Mühlenberg holds services in English at Molatton.—Missionary tour to the Blue Mountains.—Visit to the Raritan congregations.—Consultation with Brunnholtz and Hartwig.—Tulpehoken and Northkill petition for a regular pastor and reception into the united churches of Pennsylvania.—Organization and first meeting of synod.—Examination and "Reverse" of J. N. Kurtz.—His call to Tulpehoken.—Dedication of St. Michael's Church.—Ordination of Kurtz.—Retrospect.

IN March, 1748, J. N. Kurtz, who had some misunderstanding with some of the officers of the Lancaster congregation, was again sent to the Raritan churches, which he had visited the first time in 1745. In consequence of the opening which that miserable character Carl Rudolph had found in these congregations, where he introduced himself with a preacher's gown which he had stolen from Valent. Kraft, dissensions broke out, and letters and messengers came to Mühlenberg begging him not to forsake them in their distress. Kurtz returned from thence April 18th. His official relations with Lancaster came to an end when Handschuh began his labors there in May. Mühlenberg, who in March had entered into a semi-official relation with the people at Molatton, baptized there, in May, two adult daughters of a Quaker, and in June a Mrs. Hopkins and her child. In May he also paid a visit to the dispersed Lutherans in the region of the Blue Mountains; during July he held confirmation and the Lord's Supper at Upper Milford and Saccum, where Loeser had diligently given instruction to some catechumens. To the Raritan congregations a promise had been given, in agreement with their request, that one of the pastors would again visit

them. To fulfil this promise, Mühlenberg left Providence again July 20th in company with Loeser; met at the Delaware Hartwig, who intended another visit to Pennsylvania, and two officers of the Raritan congregations, with whom, July 26th, he arrived at the residence of another officer, where he lodged. This man, who was considered the most prominent among them, during the long controversy with Wolf had imbibed prejudices against Lutheranism as represented by him, Berkenmeier, and Knoll, had given an open ear to Moravian emissaries, who frequently honored his house with their presence, and had himself several times visited Bethlehem. He had been treated in a somewhat severe and unwise manner by Kurtz, and had to some extent given ear to Carl Rudolph, who had stirred him up against Pietism. Mühlenberg happily succeeded in removing these erroneous impressions. He visited, July 28th and the following days, the various congregations, then called, after their localities, Lesly's Land, Mountain Church, Fosseberg, Racheway (Rockaway). In each of them he visited the sick, gave counsel, aided in special cases as a peacemaker, preached, held preparatory and sacramental services, and instructed the church-officers. On the last day, August 7th, he held a conference with the members of all the congregations, and, as we have formerly stated, convinced them that they ought to build a church in a central locality capacious enough for them all—a proposition which soon afterward was successfully carried out. What they also most pressingly needed was a pastor residing among them. Mühlenberg promised them that J. H. Schaum—who during that summer had met with difficulties at York—would be permitted for one year to live among them. Schaum, having shortly after his arrival in America served for a time as catechist at Cohansey, N. J., had during the spring of 1741 labored in the same capacity among the Raritan congregations, and was consequently known to them. Good understanding being restored at York, Mühlenberg's promise could not be fulfilled.

When, on August 9th, Mühlenberg, with Loeser, returned

to Providence, he found Brunnholtz and Hartwig there waiting for him. With these brethren he had to consult on very important subjects: one of them was the dedication of St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia. That a number of congregations, in consequence of the labors of Mühlenberg and his colleagues subsequently among them, had undertaken the erection of churches is a telling proof of a renewed and strengthened vitality. Thus it was at Providence, where in January, 1743, the congregation resolved to build a church; May 2d of the same year laid the corner-stone; in September, though the building was unfinished, began to use it; and Oct. 6, 1745, dedicated it. On this occasion Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Tob. Wagner, and also Nyberg, were present. This venerable church—called Augustus Church—is still preserved, though superseded by a more commodious building erected 1852 and 1853. At Tulpehoken the corner-stone of Christ Church was laid on Ascension Day, May 12, 1743; on Christmas of the same year the building was dedicated. At Germantown the church was considerably enlarged, the beginning of the work dating April 15, 1746. At New Hanover a new school-house was erected. St. Michael's Church at Philadelphia had advanced so far that the building could be dedicated. It was resolved that this should take place Aug. 14, 1748.

Another important subject was the proposition to ordain on that occasion the catechist J. N. Kurtz. There were many and urgent reasons in favor of this proposition: the character and well-tried usefulness of the candidate, the necessities of the congregations at Tulpehoken and Northkill, where he was stationed, the desirable increase of his rights and powers as a regular pastor, the impossibility on the part of the already-ordained pastors to supply the wants of that extensive and distant parochial charge. Of course an act of ordination was a step which indicated the beginning of the coming independence of the German Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania as to its relation to the Fathers in Europe, without whose previous consent the ordination would not have been undertaken. But

it stands to reason that without a certain independence of action, which did not at all mean a separation from the patrons and advisers beyond the sea, the progress of the Church in America would at every step have been impeded. Much caution was needed in arranging this matter so that as a precedent it could hereafter serve as a rule for all emergencies. In this whole arrangement we trace the ripe experience and keen circumspection of Mühlenberg. The congregations at Tulpehoken and Northkill sent a petition, signed by their official representatives, to the pastors of the united Evangelical Lutheran congregations, Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh, praying for a regular pastor. They refer to the connection for years existing between them and the pastors; to the regular call and the rights and duties of these united pastors into whose hands they entrust their spiritual welfare; to their elevated character as servants of God, their firmness in holding fast to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession against false brethren, errorists, epicureans, and others; to the success of their pastoral activity, ability, experience, felicitous union, and faithfulness. These two congregations desire to be incorporated into the already united churches in Pennsylvania, and to receive from the pastors of the same a regular minister, for which purpose they grant to them full authority. They promise to recognize the united pastors as a lawful, regular presbytery or ministry; to show respect to the chief pastors; to undertake in church affairs nothing without their advice and consent, consequently never to enter upon any engagement with any strange preacher; to carry out resolutions passed for the interest of the Church by the united pastors; to respect, accept, honor, and hear the legitimate, divinely-called pastor whom the united pastors may send to them; to support him; also, in case the united pastors should for weighty reasons call him away, to dismiss him, and to accept in the same manner his successor; to report to them any misunderstandings which might arise in the congregations; finally, to provide by special subscriptions for the support of the pastor. To this document the officers gave their signature Aug. 13, 1748, on

a solemn occasion which we shall now have to consider, and which was the third and most important subject of that consultation.

This subject was the organization of the pastors and the congregations under their care into a synod, and the holding of the first synodical meeting at Philadelphia, appointed for Aug. 14 and 15, 1748.

The united pastors had up to that time provided for the interests of the congregations which appealed to them for assistance by consulting with one another and with the officers of those congregations or with the congregations as such. But those congregations had common interests and necessities, for which only a synod—a body composed of the pastors and of properly-appointed lay delegates of the congregations—could provide. The individual congregations were made to feel that they were organic parts of the Church body, and had through their lay representatives a voice concerning the welfare of the Church as a whole and of its constituent parts. It could properly be expected that the union of the congregations and pastors for the purpose of maintaining order and discipline and for providing for common necessities would contribute to the strength of the whole and of all its parts, and preserve the Church against dangerous disintegrating influences from without and disturbing forces from within. Of all the possible forms of church government, the *synodical* form, which was then adopted, though in those days applied with certain limitations, was the one best adapted to the then existing conditions of the Church, and was, indeed, the only feasible one. That the voice of the pastors in those times in synodical meetings as well as in congregational affairs was decisive on all questions can easily be understood. The synodical representative government of the Church corresponds best to the free spirit and to the forms of the civil administration of this country and to Protestant principles.

Mühlenberg and his clerical brethren arrived Aug. 12th at Philadelphia. It appears that all the necessary arrangements were made in good time. Schaum of York seems to have

received the invitation to the meeting too late to come. On Aug. 13th the pastors Brunnholtz, Handschuh, and Hartwig examined the catechist J. N. Kurtz. He was asked to give a sketch of the course of his life and his education, especially the circumstances of his spiritual awakening, the reasons for devoting himself to the clerical office; also of what theological works his library consisted. He had to answer the questions what theology is, what sin is, especially original sin and the sin against the Holy Ghost. He had to give a definition of justification, with proof passages of the Scriptures, also of saving faith; to say whether and how far good works were necessary to salvation; what sanctification was, and how it could be furthered most advantageously; in what sense death was the reward of sin. He had to state whether the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine was the only saving one, and how it was established in the word of God; also to give an exegetical analysis of Luke xvi. 9, and to base upon it a theme and skeleton of a sermon; to describe the true character and duties of an evangelical pastor; to explain how such an one should deal with those who, when dying, confess themselves sinners without confessing any special sin. He also had to state whether, and if so how far, one evangelical minister might stand in subordination to another one. All these questions Kurtz, the candidate, was expected to answer on that 13th of August before three o'clock P. M. No wonder that Dr. Francke at Halle thought too much was expected of the candidate. Having received a report of all the transactions of those memorable days, he writes, after expressing his satisfaction with the ordination, concerning the manner and result of the examination in a letter dated March 26, 1749: "In the answers of Mr. Kurtz some things were not satisfactory, though some of the questions are not definite enough or too difficult for him, with his acquisitions, to answer satisfactorily in so short a time. Taken all in all, they were answered better than they would have been by one out of ten preachers before our German consistories; this, however, please do not tell Mr. Kurtz." Francke had doubts

concerning the permission given to Kurtz and others while catechists to administer in very exceptional cases the Lord's Supper to the sick.

On the same day Kurtz was obliged also to give his signature in the presence of two witnesses to a document named "a Reverse," wherein, as called by the united ministers to take charge of the Tulpehoken parish, and in agreement with the directions given by his superiors in Europe, under penalty of losing all title to his parochial charge, he most solemnly promises before God to retain and to show proper respect to the reverend pastors of the united congregations, as he had obligated himself to do at Halle, May 21, 1744; to consider his congregations as a part of the united congregations; to teach publicly and privately in harmony with the word of God and the confessional books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and to this end diligently to study them; to introduce no other ceremonies in public services and in the administration of the sacraments but those prescribed by the *collegium pastorum*, and to use no formulary but the one instituted by them; neither himself nor with the church council to adopt anything of importance without having previously consulted with this body, and after having received their opinion acquiesce in it; at the demand of the *collegium*, orally or in writing, to give account of his pastoral activity; keep a diary and enter therein all his pastoral acts and all remarkable events; and leave his charge when it should be demanded.

We have every reason to believe that Kurtz willingly and with a sincere heart signed his name to this document and its binding stipulations. When the delegates of the Tulpehoken and Northkill congregations were requested also to sign their names to the document above alluded to concerning their relation and obligations to their pastor and to the *collegium*, they felt somewhat distrustful in consequence of insinuations made by Tob. Wagner, whom they had met on their journey to Philadelphia, and who suggested that there was danger in signing such a document. After some consultations and deliberations they, however, gave their signatures. Thereby

the agreement between them and Kurtz was virtually sealed. They had no reason to regret the step they had taken in behalf of their congregations. Kurtz remained their pastor, faithfully and successfully laboring among them, until the year 1769.

Aug. 14th, the tenth Sunday after Trinity, was devoted to the dedication of St. Michael's Church and to the ordination of Kurtz in connection with solemn public services. The clergy and the delegates went from Brunnholtz's lodgings in procession to the church, erected directly south of Fifth and Cherry streets, at that time the north-western boundary of the city. The procession was headed by the Swedish "probst" (præpositus, provost, superintendent), John Sandin, and by Hartwig, who were followed by Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz, the officers of the Philadelphia and Germantown congregations, and the delegates of Providence, New Hanover, Upper Milford, and Saccum; then came Handschuh and the delegates of Lancaster and Earltown; finally, Kurtz and the delegates of Tulpehoken and Northkill. The services were opened with the hymn, "Come, Holy Spirit, God and Lord," etc., antiphonically sung, the pastors, with the delegates standing behind them, forming a half-circle in front of the altar. A congratulatory address, written in English by Rev. Peter Tranberg, the oldest of all the Swedish ministers on the Delaware, was then read, and was followed by an address, most probably by Mühlenberg, stating that the corner-stone of this church had been laid, that the building was erected, under most trying circumstances, yet, through God's mercy and by the charity of many blessed souls, it had been built to the end that the doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church might be preached in it according to the prophets and apostles and in agreement with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and all the other Symbolical Books. After this the whole building and its parts, the pulpit, baptismal font, altar, were formally dedicated to the preaching of the saving word and the administration of the holy sacraments according to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church. The representatives of

the Philadelphia congregation solemnly promised for this purpose to preserve the church for the use of their children and children's children. Finally, all present were reminded that this building was only an external structure built with the purpose that the hearts of all who in it would hear the word of God might be transformed into sanctified temples of the living God. Now, after singing a few verses of the hymn "Sey Lob und Ehr dem hoechsten Gut," etc., all the ministers and delegates kneeling around the altar, each minister except Mühlenberg offered a short prayer—Sandin and Naesman (who also was present) in Swedish, the others in German. After singing another hymn and the baptizing of a child, Handschuh ascended the pulpit to deliver the dedication sermon. In conclusion, the Lord's Supper was administered to all the pastors and some members of the congregation.

In the afternoon they again went in procession to the church. Hartwig having preached on Ezek. xxxiii. 8, all the pastors stood before the altar, the delegates again forming a half-circle. Three Reformed pastors were present as spectators. One of the Lutheran ministers—most probably Mühlenberg, who in his report omits his name— read the ordination formulary, and he, in conjunction with his fellow-pastors, ordained the candidate for holy orders, J. N. Kurtz, by the laying on of their hands. This was the first synodical ordination, since it was administered at the first synodical meeting of the Lutheran Church in America.

Monday, Aug. 15th, the pastors and delegates met in the church to transact synodical business. After singing and prayer, Mühlenberg, who seems to have been recognized as the presiding officer without any formal election, addressed the assembly concerning the union long desired, now accomplished. He referred to an attempt to form a synod in the Swedish Church which had failed. What they needed, he said, was "unity: a twisted cord of many threads will not easily break. We need order; we must take care of our youths; our church-officers have great responsibilities. We

are assembled to provide for the things entrusted to us; Providence willing, we shall in this way assemble from year to year. For the present we are making a trial. We pastors here present did not come of our own will, but we are called here, and we are accountable to God and our consciences."

Brunnholtz, who on that occasion served as secretary, states that now every congregation was requested, through its delegate, to state the relation in which it stood as to its pastor. First spoke the representatives of Philadelphia, and expressed their complete satisfaction with their pastor, saying that he was laboring beyond his strength. In the same manner all the congregations expressed satisfaction with their respective pastors. The second topic was the condition of the parochial schools; each pastor laid before synod the actual state, the wants and prospects, of his school. On the third topic, the liturgy, all the delegates (elders) expressed their satisfaction with the form already in use, and with the plan to introduce the same form in all the congregations, though they thought that during cold winter days the service would be somewhat too long. Herewith the liturgy already in use was ratified by synod. It was not printed; the pastors copied it each for himself. It seems that one of the delegates raised the question why men like Stoever, Wagner, Streiter, Andreæ were not invited, to which question Mühlenberg easily answered that the antagonistic spirit of these men, as well as their character, would frustrate every attempt to harmoniously co-operate with them. Tob. Wagner had spread the report that Mühlenberg had driven him from Tulpehoken. The delegate of this congregation plainly testified that Mühlenberg had never forced himself upon them,—that the congregation had entreated him to take charge of them, that Wagner had resigned of his own accord, since he could never have succeeded there. After some exchange of opinions on the question how members who had followed the Moravians, but had returned to Lutheran congregations, whose articles of order they were not willing to sign, were to be treated, and after some general

admonition made by one of the pastors concerning the necessity for a decidedly Christian character on the part of officers of the church, it was finally resolved to meet yearly, and alternately at Philadelphia and Lancaster, the time to be appointed by the pastors. Every congregation was enjoined to send, at its own expense, two elders. At last expressions of good-will were mutually exchanged. Brunnholtz thanked Provost Sandin, in behalf of the congregations, for the honor of his presence. In responding, Sandin wished the new synod all divine blessings, requested to be considered a member, and said that, having arrived here only a short time before (March, 1748), he felt that the Swedes should follow the example given by the Germans in forming a synod; but, to the great distress of the Swedes, he died in the month of August, shortly after the adjournment of the synod. The elders of Philadelphia thanked the convention for participating in the dedication of their church-building, at the same time inviting all present to a collation prepared for them. The convention was formally closed with singing a verse of a hymn, and pastors and delegates of the Pennsylvania German Lutheran congregations signed the minutes.

The dedication of St. Michael's Church—which for a period of more than one hundred and twenty years was regularly used for divine services by the same congregation—the ordination of a young and useful colaborer, the meeting of a respectable body of clerical and lay representatives of the united German Lutheran churches for deliberating and acting on highly-important matters, were of great importance in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country—a cause for gratitude and encouragement, a pledge for the future. But to no one could they be of more significance than to Mühlenberg. On Nov. 25, 1742, he arrived in Philadelphia, a solitary traveller, a clergyman with nothing to sustain him but a few lines coming across the ocean and endorsing him before congregations who had lost almost all faith in documents and in ministers of the gospel. Six years had not yet passed, but he saw himself at the head of a synodical meeting in the midst

of clerical brethren and worthy representatives of a respectable number of congregations. He recognized that his labors had not been in vain, and with much encouragement he could look forward to the future. He could again add "The Lord doeth all things well" to the beautiful words of one of his letters sent in 1743 to Germany, when, taking a retrospective view of his experience during the preceding year, he says: "The Lord dealt well with me in London at Ziegenhagen's; well when I as a stranger went on board of ship; well when I was among strange people of a strange tongue; well when I had to undergo sickness and many trials; well when our ship was obliged to sail through storms and without a convoy among enemies; well when I was permitted in the English language to announce to sinners, to my brethren, salvation through the Saviour of the world or the eternal judgment; well when we were visited by oppressive heat and painful thirst; well when he, our Lord, listened to our prayers and sent us favorable winds; well when out of misery and danger we were finally brought to Charleston; well in saving me on the voyage to Georgia from imminent peril of life; well when among the Salzburg brethren in the faith at Ebenezer he allowed me to hear and to enjoy so many good things; well when he safely led me back to Charleston, and there in a remarkable way assisted and sustained me as a stranger; well when during the wintry season, in a most frail vessel, in storms, sickness, and misery, I was obliged to travel to Pennsylvania."

This is truly Christian optimism—the best practical philosophy. There is a mysterious vitality, a world-conquering strength, in such a humble faith in this certainty that God is in everything, that without his will not a hair falls from the head nor a sparrow to the ground, and that he is love in all his dealings with his children. Such faith Mühlenberg cherished in his heart; such faith he needed in the days and years which were to come.

CHAPTER XIV.

1748 et seq.

Political aspects of Pennsylvania.—Internal dissensions.—Disastrous war with the French.—Barbarous hostilities of the Indians.—Final victory of the English.—Influence of those turbulent times upon social life, congregations, and pastors in Pennsylvania.—Regina the released captive.—Sickness of Brunnholtz.—John Albr. Weygand.—Mühlenberg's interest in him.—He is sent to the Raritan congregations.—J. B. van Dieren.—J. H. Schaum ordained 1749.—Weygand ordained 1750; called to New York 1753.—Marriage of J. Fr. Vigera.—Ludolph H. Schrenk.—Kindness of Brunnholtz and Mühlenberg toward him.—He labors as catechist at Upper Milford, Saccum, and neighboring places.—His ordination.—He succeeds Weygand in the Raritan congregations.—Catechist J. A. Friderici.—Schrenk leaves the Raritan congregations.—His erratic course and final disappearance.

OUR narrative proceeds now to a period of considerable disquietude in the political condition of the Northern colonial provinces of America, especially Pennsylvania, and of disturbances and reactionary tendencies in congregations belonging to the field in which Mühlenberg and his associates were laboring.

Pennsylvania had through a long series of years enjoyed peace. During the war preceding the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748, commerce and navigation had to some extent suffered; in Georgia the Spaniards had attempted an invasion, but not in the more Northern colonies. In Pennsylvania the relations between the colonists and the Indians had never been seriously disturbed. The border difficulties with Maryland—the so-called Cressap War—did not interfere with the progress of the province. Immigration reached, just before the middle of the eighteenth century, an unprecedented height. The learned Peter Kalm, professor of natural science, sent here by the Swedish government to investigate the resources

of this country, says that during the summer of 1749 about twelve thousand Germans arrived; during the fall of that year twenty-five vessels brought seven thousand and forty-nine German emigrants to Philadelphia. And this immigration continued until the breaking out of the Seven Years' War in 1756. Agriculture and commerce were in a flourishing condition. To the former even the very abundance of the cereal crop of the years 1751 and 1752 proved an injury, as the chronicler of the convent of the Seventh-day Mennonites at Ephrata, Pa., relates in these words: "The years 1751 and 1752 have been so fruitful in wheat and other grain that men, in wanton carelessness, sought to waste the supply; for they used the precious wheat—which might have supported many poor and needy people—to fatten hogs, which afterward they lavishly consumed. Besides, distilleries were erected everywhere, and thus this great blessing, used for the manufacture of strong drink, gave rise to much disorder."

Clouds, however, began to arise on the political horizon some years before the middle of the century, and ominously portended the approaching storm.

Influenced by the French, the Shawanese Indians began from 1745 to show signs of hostility to the English. The French threatened the English provinces from the North and the West. They sought to establish themselves in Canada and on the Ohio and Mississippi down to Louisiana by erecting forts, and through their Jesuit missionaries and other agents exercised a continually irritating influence upon the Indians, who were from year to year more alarmed by the progress of the palefaced population from the East, and often thought themselves wronged by the manner in which they were dispossessed of the land of their fathers. The Scotch-Irish especially—who, without regard to the Indians, to the laws of Pennsylvania, or to the proclamations of the governors, had from 1740 settled along the rivers and creeks and in the valleys west of the Susquehanna—caused by their encroachments much dissatisfaction among the Indians.

It was to the highest interest of the provincial government

to keep on good terms with the Indians. They were from time to time pacified by large and extensive presents of things which they wanted and could not manufacture themselves, but, at the same time, military roads were laid out, and along the borders of progressing civilization forts were here and there erected. The taxes imposed to cover these outlays occasioned much dissension between the constituent parts of the provincial government. The governors found military preparations absolutely necessary. The Quakers very unreasonably opposed their peace principles to all war measures, wherein in Eastern Pennsylvania they were joined by the Moravians, Mennonites, Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, and others, most of whom disliked paying taxes no less than going to war. The Assembly, seeing that taxes must be raised, wanted the Proprietaries to pay their share. The governors, representing the prerogatives of the Proprietaries, imposed the taxes only upon the people. When the crisis approached, the Quakers lost the long-continued control of Pennsylvania politics. But the dissensions between the branches of the government and the factions of the people had prevented united decisive action at the proper time, and were fraught with disastrous consequences. The great conflict which broke out twenty years later was already foreshadowed by the spirit of independence which the colonial people clearly showed in their relation to the home government and to the Proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania.

It is not our intention, nor is it necessary for our subject, to enter upon a detailed account of the events of the war against the French, which began July 9, 1755, with the disastrous defeat of the English in the battle near Fort Duquesne, where George Washington, by his courage and skill, saved the remnants of the gallant army destroyed by the obstinate folly of its commander, Major-general E. Braddock, and which ended with the expulsion of the French from the Northern provinces of America and with the Peace of Paris, concluded 1763.

It cannot surprise us that by the war continuing through a

number of years the social condition of the provinces was seriously affected. Probably none of them felt those influences in a higher degree than Pennsylvania. The contentions between the branches of the government moved the sympathies or antipathies of the parties among the people. Troops had to be raised, and hundreds of young men were taken from the regular, quiet course of life. The consequences of war everywhere include an increase of lawlessness; Pennsylvania formed in this respect no exception. But the effects of the war were especially lamentable upon the Indians. When the English and provincial troops were obliged to retreat after the unfortunate battle near Fort Duquesne, the settlements on the frontiers toward the west were left unprotected. The settlers were not prepared for defence; they lost all, and had to take to precipitate flight to save even their lives. The Indians, now fully convinced of the superior power of the French, moving eastward, committed the most savage atrocities upon the unprotected inhabitants. Whole settlements were totally destroyed, the settlers being slaughtered or carried into cruel captivity. Neither age nor sex was spared. In November, 1755, the Indians had "entered," as Governor Morris reported, "the passes of the Blue Mountains, broke into the counties of Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton, committing murder, devastations, and other kinds of horrid mischief." While all these atrocities, accompanied by fearful loss of life and property, were going on, the Assembly, in which the Quaker element was still predominant, remained in a shocking state of lethargy and indifference, until the voice of the people could no longer be left unheard and had to be answered. In April, 1756, Governor Morris went so far as to promise, to the great chagrin of the Assembly, bounties for every Indian prisoner, male or female, for every scalp of an adult male Indian, and for every English subject delivered from captivity. At an expense of eighty-five thousand pounds the province of Pennsylvania erected on the frontiers of the districts more or less settled a chain of forts and blockhouses commanding mountain-passes and containing garrisons. Before giving his office

(August, 1756) into the hands of his successor, William Denny, Governor Morris had planned an expedition, to be conducted by Colonel J. Armstrong, against Kittanning, on the Alleghany, then the real stronghold of the Indians. The Indians were taken unawares (Sept. 1) and completely routed, and their stronghold was burned. Pennsylvania had raised twenty-five military companies, amounting to fourteen hundred men, but the mode of warfare by the savages often baffled the best military skill. The Indians continued through the following year to harass the settlers and to make life and peaceful occupations insecure; one of their scalping-parties came even within thirty miles of Philadelphia. A happy change was effected by the statesmanship of William Pitt, earl of Chatham. Properly calculating the commercial worth of the American provinces to England, he sent regular troops and pledged liberal pay to soldiers enlisting in the colonies. Two thousand seven hundred men were equipped in Pennsylvania. Already, in November, 1758, the French were driven west of the Ohio; and when in 1759 Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec, in 1760 Montreal, Detroit, and all of Canada, were in the hands of the English, France had lost all hold on the Northern provinces of America. The Indian attempt to break forth from the West with united forces against the colonies—"Pontiac's Conspiracy and War"—was frustrated after severe struggles. The "Paxton Massacre," in which a number of peaceable Indians were killed in December, 1763, in Lancaster county, and which for a time threatened very disastrous consequences even to Philadelphia, may be taken as a proof of the bitterness of feeling prevailing against the Indians. Their days were numbered; as a foe they were annihilated, and afterward rapidly disappeared. Thirty or forty years ago one could meet in Pennsylvania with aged individuals who remembered in their early childhood to have seen Indians at the farmhouse or at the country store, not as terrible warriors, but as unwelcome beggars asking alms.

Numbers of Lutheran congregations and pastors had to

suffer in the years of the struggles between two foreign nations for the possession of this country. The barbarities of the natives—who in either issue were to be dispossessed of their unimproved inheritance—were the bloody revenge for their loss. Under the date of June 24, 1763, Mühlenberg tells us that his brother-in-law, whom he then visited on the paternal estate at Heidelberg, a few miles west of Reading, "had two days before returned from the Indian frontier, and had driven home his cattle, kept on his deceased father's lands, because the savages intended to make a hostile attack against the Americans, and had already cruelly murdered many of them—as was reported, no less than fourteen hundred settlers. The inhabitants, German and English, living nearest the frontiers are fleeing without proper clothing from their habitations, and must relinquish the harvest just ripening and promising subsistence for the whole year. All North America is alarmed, since the Indians show themselves crafty and inimical." It is in connection with these Indian troubles and atrocities that Mühlenberg tells us of the mother who visited him at Philadelphia in February, 1765, and asked him for a Bible and a hymn-book for her daughter Regina. This daughter, with her sister Barbara, during the absence of her mother and brother and after the murder of her father, had been taken captive in 1755 by the Indians when, after Braddock's defeat, they devastated the interior of Pennsylvania. Suffering most cruel treatment, these two children were carried some hundred miles westward. Barbara was taken to a still more remote locality, and of her every trace was lost. Regina was for eight years the slave of an old and very rough Indian woman. She lost the use of her native German language—retained, however, some prayers, the Apostles' Creed, and verses of a few German hymns, all of which she frequently repeated, to the great comfort of her soul in her distress. Finally, when the French were vanquished, the Indians brought to terms, and many white captives released, in the fall of 1765 she was taken, with a small child, also a captive—to whom she had indeed been a foster-mother—to Car-

lisle, Pa. A public notice having been given in all the newspapers throughout Pennsylvania that those whose friends had been carried into captivity years before should appear and see whether they could recognize them, Regina's mother, following the instinct of motherly love, repaired to Carlisle, but could not discover her daughter. No wonder! within eight years the little Regina had grown to womanhood. The commissaries asking the mother whether she could not remember any particular thing by which she might know her child, she said her daughter had frequently sung the hymns "Jesus I shall love for ever," etc., and "Alone, and yet not quite alone," etc. Hardly had she said these words in German when Regina came forward, began to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and these hymns. Irresistibly mother and daughter embraced each other, and the tears of an unspeakable joy broke forth. Regina's foster-child, seeing this, also began to repeat the same prayers and hymns; and when Regina was about to return with her mother, the child, claimed by no one, clung to her friend with so much affection that they could not but take her along. Referring to the fact that Regina's mother had come from Reutlingen (now belonging to the kingdom of Würtemberg), Mühlenberg says at the conclusion of his charming narrative, "Suppose the sainted Luther were still this side of eternity and could hear that a child of Reutlingen, the free imperial city which in 1530 so faithfully and firmly held to the Augsburg Confession, had through God's pure word been preserved in the deep wilderness in spiritual life, how heartily would he offer to God praises and thanks and once more cheerfully and confidently sing, 'The word they still shall let remain, and not a thank have for it'!"

Soon after the first meeting of synod Mühlenberg was again called to Philadelphia on account of a critical sickness of Brunnholtz, who was living as a bachelor. Brunnholtz's constitution was not a strong one, and the claims of his two congregations were too much for his physical ability. Mühlenberg found him in a burning fever, which had continued for some time and reduced him to such a degree that Mühlen-

berg had little hope of his life and felt very much depressed. He held the intellectual capacities of Brunnholtz in considerable esteem, and would have considered his death a great loss to the young but growing Church in this country. We can perceive the frame of his mind when he says, "The other beloved brethren are faithfully doing their work, each at his particular post, according to the talents God gave to each; but they do not yet understand the connection and interest of the whole, and expect words of comfort and encouragement from us older ones, who themselves are in need of them." Again: "It is true the station which Brunnholtz now occupies is too laborious for him, for there is more internal trouble and grief than may be described. His spirit, faith, and charity are sufficient, but the weak body is not equal to the work. The character of the climate also is so severe that steel and iron will get brittle. I had such a robust, farmer-like nature that I knew of no sickness nor weakness, but the climate and the never-ending travelling broke me down." Brunnholtz escaped on that occasion, but suffered repeated attacks, and died, after twelve years' labor in Pennsylvania, at his post.

We can easily understand that it was for both his and Mühlenberg's interest, in view of the growing German Lutheran immigration and the petitions of congregations, to assist them in getting pastors, and that they felt the necessity to fill vacancies with men of proper character and to substitute such for irregular pastors, and also to find men who might in the course of time be made useful servants of the Church. The Fathers in Germany found it exceedingly difficult to select suitable individuals for this distant—and, indeed, unusually arduous—field of labor. To find suitable men from the people already in this country seemed, for obvious reasons, particularly desirable.

During the sickness of Brunnholtz, in September, 1748, a young candidate for the clerical office, John Albert Weygand, had arrived at Philadelphia. Some uneasy heads, as Mühlenberg judiciously calls them, precipitately proposed him,

though they knew as little of his character as of the means for his support, as an assistant to Brunnholtz. The young man had no money to satisfy the captain who had brought him across the Atlantic, but his conduct during the voyage had been such that some of his fellow-passengers, moved by compassion, satisfied the claims standing against him. He paid a visit to Brunnholtz, but had no testimonials to show. While he remained at Philadelphia he refused calls from parties in the country who at various localities were in need of a pastor. The worthless Andreæ, who was serving parts of Lutheran congregations in Old Goshenhoppen and Indianfield, invited him in vain; he desired before all to see Mühlenberg, and came to Providence. Being examined as to the motives of his coming to America, he narrated the course of his life. He was born Aug. 26, 1722, in the district of Hanau, not far from Frankfort-on-the-Main; was given in 1736 by his parents to the care of a pastor, and began the study of the ancient languages; in 1742 he frequented for a few months the higher school at Hanau, and then, though cautioned against the "Pietists," the University at Halle, where he attended theological lectures, and subsequently was made a teacher in the well-known charitable institutions. Here his spiritual awakening took place, and he felt himself willing to go east or west as the Lord might use and send him in his service. He left Halle in 1744, served as teacher at a few places, made the acquaintance of some men prominent among the Pietists, as "Abt Steinmetz" and Pastor Sommer, with whom Mühlenberg was personally acquainted, and was finally persuaded at Frankfort-on-the-Main, by some rogue in the shape of a shipping-agent, to come to America, where plenty of work was waiting for him. Emigrants always flocked to ships on which a member of the clergy embarked; agents were therefore on the alert to induce clericals to try their fortune in America. Had those good-natured individuals at Weygand's arrival at Philadelphia not satisfied the claims against him, according to law the captain of the ship could, and undoubtedly would, have sold him for menial service for a number of years.

When Weygand in words of highest respect spoke of the venerable Fathers and of the blessed institutions at Halle, Mühlenberg says his own heart grew warm like Joseph's when in Egypt he recognized his brothers. But he cautiously scrutinized the mind and the character of his new acquaintance. "It was not advisable," says he, "to reject him, since some of our well-meaning members had been informed that he was from Halle, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Advice from there we could not receive in a few days. I charitably indulged in good hope concerning him. I looked upon him as Abraham looked upon the ram caught in a thicket by his horns (Gen. xxii.), and took him into my house, to which my colleagues consented." As may be expected, he also examined him as to his theological attainments and his personal piety, allowed him to offer up free prayers at the household services, and was pleased to find that he used good biblical terms—that in his conversation he often introduced phrases which Mühlenberg could easily trace back to Francke, Steinmetz, Sommer, or some other honored man of his former acquaintance; all of which was proof that he had moved in those circles. Mühlenberg, having appointed him to instruct the catechumens at New Hanover, found that he was diligent and persevering, but, like all beginners in such exercises, preached more than he catechised, and "did not chew the questions small enough for the children's comprehension." Mühlenberg also allowed him to preach, and found that he had a fine tenor voice, modest gesture, and did not use metaphysical school-terms, but plain, edifying Bible language. Weygand's intercourse with the people was also of a proper character. His complexion revealed to the scrutinizing eye of Mühlenberg a sanguine, unsteady temper—an observation in which, as the future amply demonstrated, he was not mistaken. But the man was not a hypocrite nor undeserving of the active sympathy of Mühlenberg.

The question arose where Weygand might best be employed. It was proposed to send him as a parochial teacher to Lancaster. Finally, J. Jac. Loeser took that position, to

the great advantage of the congregation and the children. In his own house Mühlenberg could not properly employ and keep his guest. It was after due consideration decided to send him to the Raritan congregations. He began his labors as a catechist among them in November, 1748. He was permitted to preach, to teach, to baptize, and, in very exceptional cases, to administer the Lord's Supper to persons in peril of death. Mühlenberg, who, as we know, since 1745 had had the supervision of these congregations, visiting them for a number of years from time to time, finding there in August, 1749, thirty catechumens whom Weygand had instructed, confirmed them, and held the Lord's Supper with them and with the congregations. Weygand proved himself diligent and faithful, but allowed his sanguine temper sometimes to do harm to himself and to others. This was the case in connection with his entering into the state of wedlock. It appears that in December, 1749, in a rather hasty and informal manner he asked an elder of one of the congregations—under whose roof he lodged, and who, being a man in good circumstances, had shown his liberality in assisting to build the church, buying an organ and in other ways—for the hand of his daughter. The father, surprised by the abruptness of the petitioner, hesitated for a moment and wished to have some time for consideration. This was enough to irritate Weygand to such a degree that he at once went to a certain Van Dieren (Doeren, Düren), asked of him the hand of one of his daughters, and without any further delay was united with her in marriage. This was, under all aspects, a very unwise procedure, but was aggravated by the connection which Weygand formed by this step. This man, J. B. van Dieren, was a tailor who had come, with books given him by the Rev. A. W. Boehme, predecessor of Ziegenhagen at St. James Chapel at London, as a sort of colporteur to this country, ambitious enough to enter the clerical rank, but unable to receive or to prove ordination. Creating disturbances in congregations on the Hudson, he was violently proclaimed as an impostor by Rev. W. Chr. Berkenmeier in pamphlets, let-

ters, and speeches, and finally settled in the Raritan congregations. His character and career were equally doubtful. Weygand's inconsiderate step in marrying under such circumstances, and into this man's family, created, as would be expected, an unpleasant sensation which was not diminished by his subsequently urging the congregations—just then considerably burdened by the erection of a large church-building—to buy him a farm. The farm, however, was bought as a new evidence of the forbearance and the good-will of the people, and the debts of the congregations were thereby increased. Weygand expected to be ordained at the meeting of synod at Providence, June 17, 1750; three elders of his congregations, however, most obstinately protested against it. The act had to be postponed, to the great disappointment of the candidate, until December of the same year, when, on the occasion of the dedication of the new church, a committee consisting of Brunnholtz, Handschuh, Hartwig, Kurtz, and Schaum ordained Weygand with the consent of the membership. At the same time (Dec. 4th) the marriage of J. H. Schaum—who at the synodical meeting at Lancaster, June 4, 1749, after being examined, had received ordination, and was by this act created regular pastor at York—with a daughter of B. Pickel, one of the Raritan elders, took place; to which festivity Mühlenberg sent his congratulations in the form of a poem. Weygand, in consequence of great disturbances which had taken place in his congregations, accepted in 1753 a call to the congregations of Lutheran Hollanders at New York City and Hackensack, N. J., and served them until 1767. A short memorandum in Mühlenberg's diary of May, 1770, informs us that at that time Weygand had already departed this life. The latter part of his career, unfortunately, did not correspond with the good promises of his earlier period.

In February, 1749, a young man, Ludolph Henry Schrenk, arrived at Philadelphia, visited Brunnholtz, and was for a number of weeks the object of his observation and kind sympathy. His means, as might be expected, were soon exhausted. April 19th of the same year the marriage of J. Fr. Vigera,

who at that time was employed as a teacher in Philadelphia, was to occur in Mühlenberg's house at Providence. He married Miss Anna Stevenson, who had been brought up by her mother a Quaker, but had been awakened through the preaching of Whitefield, was baptized afterward by Mühlenberg, and enjoyed in the community the highest esteem. Brunnholtz was to perform the marriage ceremony. In going, with some other Philadelphia friends, to Providence, he took Schrenk with him. Mühlenberg kindly resolved to take care of him. Schrenk told him that after the early death of his father, at Lüneburg, he was reared in luxury in the house of his guardian, the burgomaster of the city, and was sent to the University of Erlangen, where he devoted himself to the study of jurisprudence—without, however, finishing his course, since his means were exhausted. Some reports of the colonization of Georgia having excited his interest, he went to London, expecting to be given free passage to that province by the trustees. What he knew of jurisprudence was of no advantage to him. He had the strongest reasons to be sincerely thankful to Brunnholtz and Mühlenberg, who, when he had found his way to Pennsylvania, stretched their helping hands out to him in his distressed condition. Mühlenberg provided for him for six months and gave him theological instruction; Brunnholtz furnished the necessary books and assisted him in other ways. It seems that during this period the conduct of Schrenk was quite satisfactory. He gave promise of qualifying himself in a suitable manner for the service of the Church. Occasion was given him, in the outlying congregations to exercise himself in catechising and preaching under the supervision of Mühlenberg, and finally (Nov. 20, 1749) he was regularly introduced by him as catechist in the congregations of Upper Milford and Saccum, with the understanding that he should take care also of Birkensee and the Forks of Lehigh and Delaware (now Easton). On that occasion Mühlenberg, when holding preparatory service and administering the Lord's Supper in these congregations, refused to admit to the sacrament two Würtemberg-

ers because they were proper subjects for church discipline. Schrenk at first felt the uncomfortable smallness of the lodgings which were at his command, but went at his work with an honest will. We find that Mühlenberg on various occasions in his diary pronounces a good opinion of him. At the synodical meeting at Lancaster, June 4 and 5, 1749, Schrenk was present. His labors as a missionary he extended gradually even beyond the Blue Mountains, and his congregations were well pleased with his services and conduct. Considering the urgent necessity existing for regular pastors in more distant localities, the synod meeting at Germantown, Oct. 12, 1762, resolved upon his ordination and that of one other candidate; which, after examination, was accordingly done, Nov. 5th, at Providence. When, in the following year, Weygand left the Raritan congregations, Schrenk was, on the occasion of a visit of Mühlenberg, requested by them as pastor; which request was granted. His congregations in Pennsylvania were served for some time by a catechist, John Andrew Friderici, who for a season had been a fellow-student of Mühlenberg at Göttingen.

Schrenk continued his labors in the Raritan congregations until 1756. In this year he left them suddenly in consequence of disastrous disturbances which to some extent existed there before he entered that field of labor, but were by his injudicious conduct greatly aggravated. It may be that his success in the clerical profession unduly elated him, or that his nervous system was in a state of morbid excitement bordering on insanity; certainly his prospects in those congregations in a short time totally vanished. And now he entertained the absurd idea that Mühlenberg was the cause of his misfortune, while the fact was that toward some of the officers of his congregations he had privately and publicly behaved in a manner which men of any degree of self-respect would nowhere tolerate. Leaving his field of labor, he first came to Philadelphia, and there slandered Mühlenberg before Brunnholtz and the officers and members of the congregation, accusing him of having driven him out of his parish, and here and there by

his representations succeeding in creating impressions unfavorable to Mühlenberg, who had no opportunity to state the facts of the case. Even to the Reformed minister, Rev. Michael Schlatter, who stood in very friendly relations with Mühlenberg, he made malicious insinuations. Schlatter, however, in his straightforward manner said, "I know Mühlenberg better. You act most ungratefully; if you know no more than this, you are quite welcome to leave." Following this judicious advice, Schrenk left Philadelphia for New York, continued his slanders at New York, and, instead of hastening forward on a pretended return to Europe with the view to raise a large inheritance, moved Weygand to make him his substitute in the Hackensack and another outlying small congregation, Remmerspach, in New Jersey. Within six months he had succeeded in producing there such a confusion that he was obliged to leave in disgrace. After some time, hearing that there was a church of Lutheran Hollanders in Curaçao, in South America, he embarked for that distant place, fell sick after his arrival there, was maintained by charity, and was sent after half a year to Charleston, S. C. Here he was advised to offer his services to one of the inland congregations or to become a slave-overseer on a plantation. He preferred to return to Pennsylvania, had the hardihood to come to Mühlenberg at Providence with an introduction sentimentally given him by Handschuh—of whose local and official changes we shall hear—and acted so well the part of a humble, contrite, totally broken-down sinner whose spiritual sorrow bordered on complete despair—pretending, besides, that he was suffering some bodily ailments which necessitated his return to Germany to undergo there an operation—that Mühlenberg, in the spring of 1759, though at first rather cool toward him, felt his heart softened, allowed him to board in his house with a young family which we shall mention hereafter, while he with his own family intended to spend a year in the Raritan congregations, and even permitted Schrenk to fill his place in Providence and New Hanover. A few months were sufficient to prove that this time Mühlenberg's judgment

and kindness were at fault. The conduct of Schrenk toward the family with whom he boarded in Mühlenberg's house at Providence was outrageous; he even, in one of his spasms, in the presence of Mrs. Mühlenberg, who had returned from the Raritan in September, a week before her husband, laid hands on the young host in a violent manner, and afterward, when sobered down, acted as if he intended to commit suicide. He had not only given no satisfaction as a substitute of Mühlenberg, but among the members of the congregations tried to injure the character of his benefactor. Mühlenberg, coming home, learned these things. Schrenk, knowing that there was no longer any prospect for him there, demanded fifteen pounds for his services; which sum Mühlenberg borrowed to pay the charges of the captain with whom Schrenk embarked for Europe. In 1764, Mühlenberg incidentally mentions in a letter the report that Schrenk was preaching in Ireland to Lutherans. There was a German Protestant congregation in those times at Dublin. Hundreds of the Palatines who in 1709 encamped near London in the direction of Greenwich were settled by the English government in the south-west of Ireland. It is said that the German language was used by them even at the beginning of the present century. Taking a retrospect of his experience in this case, Mühlenberg writes in his diary, "If ever a mortal creature abused my kindness and took advantage of my forbearance, it was that man Schrenk."

CHAPTER XV.

1748 et seq. (*continued*).

Lucas Raus of Transylvania.—His parentage and education.—Brunnholtz and Mühlenberg's interest in him.—He labors as catechist at Old Goshenhoppen, Indianfield, and Tohicon.—He is sent to Hartwig's congregation on the Hudson.—His ordination and marriage.—His call to York, and final severance from synod and the pastorate.—Rev. G. S. Klug's visit to Pennsylvania.—His successors, J. Schwarbach, J. Frank.—Mühlenberg at the meeting of synod at Lancaster, 1749.—He visits again Upper Milford, Saccum, Easton, and Birkensee, and the Raritan congregations; erection of churches at New Germantown and Bedminster.—His services desired at Indianfield.—Synodical meeting at Providence, 1750.—Tob. Wagner appears there.

ON the morning of Nov. 20, 1749, the year of the arrival of L. H. Schrenk, another young man, Lucas Raus, landed at Philadelphia, and at first also became the object of the pity of Brunnholtz. Raus was born Oct. 18, 1724, at Marienburg, near Cronstadt, in Transylvania, in which town his father was a minister of the gospel. His grandfather had lost his eyesight in his fourth year, but so earnestly devoted himself to literary studies that he also was called into the service of one of the congregations of his country, and most successfully presided over it for many years. Lucas Raus was given a liberal education by his godly parents. That as a boy he often read to his mother Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Arndt's *True Christianity*, and similar books is indicative of the spirit prevailing in the family. Raus was not yet ten years old when his father died. The mother moved to the residence of the grandparents to nurse them, and intended to send young Lucas, after he had finished his preparatory school-education, to the University of Halle. Having attended classical schools in Transylvania, he was sent in

1743 to Presburg in Hungary; left, after a year, for Pesth, and thence went (Nov. 17, 1744) to the classical school of the Reformed Church of Hungary at Losonz, which in those years was well patronized also by many Lutherans. A doctor of medicine, Daniel Perlitzius, also a Lutheran, took an interest in him, assisted him financially, and sent him to the Lutheran college at Neusohl, where he continued his studies until 1747, in which year (April 27th) he arrived at Leipsic, and May 1st at Jena. While there, in Nov., 1748, his mother died, but his two sisters, married in Transylvania, provided for him with motherly care. In those times the Evangelicals in all Austria were treated by the empress Maria Theresa with suspicion and oppressed. In Transylvania some of their ministers were thrown into prison, and in some places they were tyrannically deprived of their churches and schools. Under such prospects Lucas Raus resolved to go to America. After considerable hardship he arrived (July 23, 1749) at Amsterdam, supported by a letter of recommendation, addressed himself to the Lutheran consistory, and was told that something might be done for his advancement provided he understood the Dutch language. Also at Rotterdam, which he reached August 11th, the Lutheran clergy treated him with coldness. Having resolved to seek a field of labor in Pennsylvania, he was brought by a captain across the ocean, but, not being in a condition to pay his fare, he was in danger of being taken to the West Indian islands, there to be sold into menial service. While he was in great embarrassment and felt exceedingly depressed a man appeared on the deck of the vessel and handed him a letter. Raus read the letter and again read it. He did not know whether he was awake or dreaming. The letter was addressed to him by the "Rev. Brunnholtz, pastor at Philadelphia and Germantown." It appears that Mühlenberg was at that time on a visit to Philadelphia. He, Brunnholtz, and H. Keppele, an elder of the Lutheran congregation, a very worthy man, heard of the young student on board of the ship. Keppele advised caution in dealing with him; Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz felt

pity for him, took fifteen pounds out of the charitable gifts from Halle, satisfied the claims of the captain, and Raus arrived (Nov. 23d) at the lodgings of Brunnholtz, who treated him with great kindness, helped him to earn some money by giving instruction, and cherished good hopes of him, but did not receive the thanks his charity deserved. Raus soon began to speak of his host in a very unkind manner, raised suspicions against him, and created the impression that he was secretly intriguing to dislodge Brunnholtz and to take his place. The manner in which he availed himself of the permission to preach in some places was not calculated to show any superiority in this direction. He seemed from the first to be fond of a comfortable, inactive life, and exhibited in his manners the results of a public education, in which, from the protracted deprivation of a mother's and a family's refining influences, the feelings had become blunted and selfishness had obtained sway. While he undoubtedly with a sincere heart professed Christian principles, and was in his walk and conversation correct and deserving of all respect, he was often controlled by a violent temper, obstinate prejudices, and unfounded suspicions against those who had given the strongest evidences of goodwill toward him. Excitable and sensitive as he was, he was easily offended, and was apt just as easily to offend. When in Philadelphia he had behaved unwisely and against his own best interests. Mühlenberg, unwilling to ignore the good and useful elements in Raus, acted as he had done in Schrenk's case—"charity beareth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things"—took him to his house and family at Providence, and permitted him to hold services in the outlying congregations of Old Goshenhoppen, Indianfield, and Tohicon, in which there were numbers of members not attached to Andreæ, who was at that time the incumbent of those charges, and continued so until, on account of his abject character and life, even his former associates and supporters became ashamed of him and dismissed him.

During the summer of 1750, Mühlenberg visited Hartwig's congregation on the Hudson. After his return, and while

Hartwig sojourned in Pennsylvania, Raus, in the capacity of a catechist, was sent in October of the same year to these congregations. In the following spring the congregations in Pennsylvania which he had formerly served were open to him, and, in agreement with the other united pastors, Mühlenberg framed a sort of a call and instruction for Raus, who now moved into that field, met among the people with no very gratifying success, was (Nov. 5, 1752) ordained with Weygand "under pressure of circumstances," and in 1753 married a very respectable young woman, on which occasion Mühlenberg offered his house for holding the customary festivities. Raus, having bought a very poor piece of ground, became burdened with debt, as a pastor could not sustain his family, and devoted himself more to medical practice, based upon instruction received in Germany, than to the pastoral office. Troubled by suspicions that Mühlenberg and the other pastors received salaries from Halle, he became more and more estranged from them. When, in 1754, Schaum resigned the congregation at York, Raus was called there after a visit made in company with Handschuh. When Mühlenberg, in Handschuh's presence, handed him the document of the call, Raus, acting with strange contradiction to himself, appeared to be very indignant and charged the brethren with being false toward him and desirous of placing him far away on the frontiers. Mühlenberg, deeply grieved and offended, returned the document to York, where Raus took care to misrepresent the whole transaction, and afterward, without giving Mühlenberg any information, suddenly left his charge (1758) and entered upon the service at York, where during the intervening years no pastor had been regularly called and settled. He took now a decidedly antagonistic position toward the Halle pastors, sent calumniating letters to Weygand at New York, and could no longer be considered as belonging to synod; wherefore Mühlenberg, as presiding officer, in 1760 did not invite him to the yearly meeting. In the following year, when synod met at Lancaster, he was invited by the pastor, Rev. J. S. Gerock, to attend the meeting. Raus first

sent an offensive letter, but changed his mind, appeared personally, and in a most improper manner used the occasion to wound the feelings of synod. He also made serious charges concerning doctrine and conduct against Mühlenberg, all of which were found to be untrue by a committee of investigation consisting of two Swedish ministers. Mühlenberg in this flagrant instance also experienced the ingratitude of one whom he had in various ways benefited. Of course Raus was not willing to acknowledge his wrong. His connection with synod ceased for ever, and a few years later he also ceased to be pastor at York, though he, with his family, continued at York, practised medicine (as tradition has it), assisted occasionally in pastoral work in the York church, and served some neighboring congregations as pastor. He died July 7, 1788. Some of his descendants are living in York, and occupy a high place in the respect of the Lutheran Church and of the community.

In the year 1749, Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh made the acquaintance of another clerical brother who at that time came as a visitor from Virginia—Rev. George Samuel Klug. When the elder J. C. Stoever in 1737 went on a collecting-tour to Germany from his charge in Virginia, Klug, born at Elbing and a candidate for holy orders, declared himself willing, as an assistant of Stoever, to go to Virginia, where he arrived in 1739. Stoever on his return dying at sea in 1738, Klug succeeded him in the charge. We can easily understand that a pastor situated as Klug was in an isolated German Lutheran congregation and surrounded by English clergymen of other creeds, connections, and language—indebted, also, for his whole education to the schools and institutions of Germany—would feel a strong desire to meet German clerical brethren, whose intercourse would refresh, animate, and encourage him. This moved Klug to undertake a journey of some three hundred miles from Madison county, Va., to Eastern Pennsylvania. He was kindly received, and gave information about the condition of his field of labor. Compared with pastoral life in the various united

congregations of Pennsylvania, Klug was in Virginia in a much easier situation. Stoever and the two officers of his congregation accompanying him had collected in Europe about three thousand pounds, of which sum two-thirds were used for building a church, which was done in 1740, and for buying a glebe and negroes to cultivate it. In this way the support of the pastor was provided for, and he found himself, in his relation to his congregation, in a more independent position. The erection of the church also occasioned him no particular difficulties. The structure was in the shape of a cross, and was built of such strong material that it even now answers the necessities of the congregation. It appears that Klug was a man of perfectly respectable character—not, however, in full sympathy with the views and feelings of the pastors of the Halle school, and for this reason no closer connection by correspondence or synodical co-operation, which to a great extent would have been rendered very difficult owing to the distance, was established between them and him. It also appears that the English clergymen in the midst of whom Klug with his German Lutheran congregation was situated had agreeable intercourse with him, but were not of such character as to advance his spirituality. In the year 1746 the vagabond Carl Rudolph also visited his field of labor and produced some temporary disturbance. Somewhat later—possibly before the death of Klug, which, as we learn from a synodical report of Mühlenberg of 1763, had taken place before this year, most probably in 1761—a number of Dunkers moved to the neighborhood of Klug's congregation, and were successful in alienating some of the members and in considerably disquieting the congregation. A few years later we find that the Lutherans who had settled in divers parts of Virginia became an object of concern to Mühlenberg and the synod, and some men were laboring in that field who stood in direct relation to the ministerium of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania. Mühlenberg seriously entertained the idea of making a missionary-tour to Virginia: he was prevented from doing so by the engagements and responsibilities he

held in Pennsylvania. Letters of Sept. 1 and 2, 1768, from officers of the Lutheran congregation at Culpeper, Va., and from a catechist, John Schwarbach, formerly a school-teacher, who for a time had held religious services in outlying congregations, Manchester and Paradise, near York, Pa., but then laboring in that field, were laid before synod at New Hanover, Nov. 7 of the same year. The catechist says that he had instructed and confirmed catechumens in seven congregations during a period of six months. Lutheran ministers labored in those times in Virginia under the difficulty that marriage ceremonies performed by them were not acknowledged by the courts, while marriages performed by Episcopal presbyters were legally acknowledged. J. Schwarbach left Virginia after 1772 and moved to Pennsylvania, where we meet him in 1775 as an independent pastor without synodical connection. His successor in Virginia was (1775–78) J. Frank, formerly parochial teacher and cantor in the Philadelphia congregation, whom family interests, after successful work in Virginia, caused to return to Philadelphia. He was succeeded in Virginia (not before 1783) by Paul Henkel, Gerhard Henkel's great-grandson, who settled in New Market, Shenandoah county, Va., but labored as a missionary in a very extensive field, and visited also the old congregation in Culpeper county. Mühlenberg's son, Peter Gabriel, was pastor of Lutheran congregations in this province, though in 1772 (April 21) he received Episcopal ordination in London, which enabled him lawfully to perform marriage ceremonies in Virginia. He had settled in the autumn of 1772 in Woodstock, west of Madison and Culpeper counties, beyond the Blue Mountains, and served those congregations—possibly also, as occasion offered, the old Hebron church—until January, 1776, when he exchanged the preacher's gown for the military uniform. This whole subject shall again claim our attention.

Jan. 15, 1749, the fourth anniversary of the arrival of Brunnholtz, J. N. Kurtz, and Schaum, was celebrated at Philadelphia, and, in spite of the wintry season, Mühlenberg went

thither with his wife and C. Weiser, her father. His health was at that time precarious; he suffered with inflammation of the right eye, and, in addition to other ailments, had spells of fainting. In May he began again to preach in Molatton, and promised to continue his services there during the summer as circumstances would permit. At the meeting of synod at Lancaster (June 4th and 5th), which was opened on Sunday by solemn procession from Handschuh's private dwelling to the church, he preached on Luke xiv. 16. In the evening of the same day, at their request, he preached in the Lutheran church to the English. The congregations of the Raritan and of Upper Milford and Saccum had, on account of the great distance, sent no delegates, but in their stead letters, which were publicly read before synod. At that meeting Schaum was examined and ordained. In July and August Mühlenberg visited Upper Milford and Saccum, also the two small congregations of Forks (Easton) and Birkensee. In Upper Milford he confirmed seven persons, most of them adults instructed by Schrenk at Saccum, also two married Englishwomen after public examination and profession of faith. In the month of August he also paid another visit to the Raritan congregations and Catechist Weygand, against whom at that time no complaints were lodged. The people wanted Mühlenberg to correspond with the Fathers concerning Weygand's ordination, but, in consequence of the experience obtained in Wolf's time, were unwilling to give their signatures to a regular call unless certain limitations were added to it. Weygand said that, though he was permitted in extraordinary cases to administer the Lord's Supper to sick members, many doubted the efficacy of his administration for the reason that he was not ordained. In an address after his sermon Mühlenberg tried to remove these prejudices, and, being very much exhausted, after having consecrated the elements allowed Weygand to give the cup to the guests—a liberty of which the Fathers at Halle judiciously kept in harmless ignorance the readers of the *Reports* on the "United Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America, espe-

cially in Pennsylvania." Mühlenberg afterward held service in English for a number of settlers in the neighborhood who could not understand German. It will be remembered that three of the four original congregations, urged by Mühlenberg, had undertaken to build a church in a central locality, and were at that time engaged in erecting it; in vain he now made efforts to persuade the fourth congregation to join them in this work: the distance of the new church appeared to be too great for them. This centrally-located church has been known to us since 1759 as the church of New Germantown. Another church was erected by the other part of the old congregations and dedicated by Mühlenberg in 1758, and is called the Bedminster church. The former names of the four Raritan congregations seem to have gone out of use.

Some members connected with the Indianfield congregation, then under the pastoral care of the miserable Andreæ, being not willing to continue longer in that relation, desired Mühlenberg to pay them a visit. Andreæ's party held the church. Mühlenberg, on his arrival there in September, 1749, preached in a private house. This house on the following occasions not affording room enough, the Reformed kindly invited Mühlenberg to their church, of which invitation he availed himself on week-days. The church finally not offering sufficient room, he preached under the open sky to an assembly consisting of representatives of sundry denominations.

When, in November of the same year, he introduced Schrenk as catechist in Upper Milford and Saccum, he went as far as the Forks (Easton), and, returning after visiting Birkensee, was in imminent peril of his life in crossing the frozen Perkiomen. The region around Birkensee was in those times especially infected with unworthy characters pretending to be pastors.

On the evening of Jan. 1, 1750, during the father's absence, Mühlenberg's second son was born. The grandfather, Conrad Weiser, was a guest in the house. The name of Frederick Augustus Conrad was given to the child in baptism on Jan.

15th, in honor of the grandfather, and also of Dr. Fred. M. Ziegenhagen and Dr. G. Augustus Francke, who were requested to act as sponsors, two of them *in absentia*. The day of baptism was also the anniversary of the arrival of Brunnholtz, J. N. Kurtz, and J. H. Schaum. Brunnholtz, Weiser, Vigera, and Fr. Marsteller, the faithful, trustworthy friend of the family, enjoyed on that occasion the hospitality of the parsonage at Providence. In the beginning of March, Brunnholtz was again for a few days the guest of the Mühlenberg family. While he was at Providence, Handschuh sent word to him and to his host that on May 1st he intended to marry, and requested the honor of their presence. Both came, with Kurtz, at the appointed time to Lancaster, and the marriage (the consequences of which will hereafter engage our attention) took place at the appointed time, Tuesday, May 1st.

The meeting of synod was this year to take place at Providence; the resolution formerly passed to hold the meetings alternately at Philadelphia and at Lancaster was consequently at least practically rescinded. Mühlenberg had on his visit to Lancaster met Stoever, who had undergone a very severe spell of sickness. He was then serving a number of congregations not very far from Tulpehoken, was intimate with Wagner, and was in comfortable circumstances. Weiser requested Mühlenberg and his brethren to invite Stoever and Wagner to synod, for reasons which were not without force. The Rev. Dr. J. Ph. Fresenius, court-preacher at Darmstadt, afterward senior of the Lutheran ministry at Frankfort-on-the-Main, a relative of Stoever, had plead by correspondence for a union of Stoever with the united pastors. In his conversation with Stoever at Lancaster, Mühlenberg had asked him whether he would visit synod provided an invitation were sent to him: Stoever said he could not make a promise until he had conferred with Wagner. Mühlenberg added that he had in his mind no more than a neighborly good understanding. Mühlenberg's colleagues objected, and did not wish Stoever's presence at the transaction of the regular business of synod and at the then proposed ordination of Weygand; which, however,

as we know, did not take place at that synodical meeting. Finally, it was resolved to invite Stoever and Wagner to be present the day after the regular meeting of synod. At this Stoever was very indignant, and gave vent to his feelings in a long and acrimonious letter. Wagner was present on the appointed day and gave the brethren a piece of his mind without any reservation, but consented to what Mühlenberg calls a "neighborly amnesty."

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CHAPTER XVI.

1748 et seq. (*continued*).

Arrival of Israel Acrelius, the Swedish provost.—Relations between Swedish and German Lutheran pastors.—Acrelius's *History of New Sweden*.—Conrad Weiser and Mühlenberg visit Hartwig's congregations on the Hudson.—Visit to Bethlehem.—Experiences of the travellers.—Mühlenberg as peace-maker in Hartwig's congregations.—He and Hartwig set sail for New York.—The Dutch Lutheran congregation there.—Difficulties on account of the demands of the German Lutherans.—Formation of a German congregation.—Mühlenberg meets Berkenmeier and preaches in the Dutch Lutheran church in German and in English.—On his return to Pennsylvania he visits the Raritan congregations.—Hartwig sojourns in Pennsylvania.

DURING the summer of 1750 the Rev. Israel Acrelius of Sweden, pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church at Christina (Wilmington, Del.) and provost of the Swedish Lutheran pastors of the Swedish congregations on the Delaware, arrived on the field of his future labors. In this office of provost he had only one predecessor, the Rev. John Sandin, whom we have already met, and who, after a very successful beginning of his labors during a few months, died in August of the year 1748. The office had been instituted, by the advice of Archbishop Jacob Berzelius of Sweden, who had the Swedish churches in America under his supervision, by a royal decree of January, 1747, to prevent irregularities caused in some of them by Moravian intrusion and other disturbing elements. Acrelius was appointed provost May 29, 1749. He was intended at first as pastor for Raccoon and Pennsneck, N. J., but information of Tranberg's death having been received, he was at once transferred to Christina, and left Stockholm July 20th, arriving at Philadelphia Nov. 6, 1749, in company with Rev. Eric Unander, appointed to serve at

Raccoon and Pennsneck. From the Wicaco church at Philadelphia, Naesman was recalled to Sweden in 1749, though he did not leave Philadelphia before November, 1751, and did not arrive in Sweden until late in 1752. His successor in Wicaco church, Olof Parlin, arrived at Philadelphia on July 7, 1750. In 1755, Acrelius was recalled, and ordered, before leaving, to appoint Parlin provost, provided no special order should have come from Sweden. Acrelius's departure was delayed until 1756; in June of that year Parlin's commission came from Sweden. He, however, departed this life on Dec. 22, 1757.

The Swedish ministers on the Delaware had from early times held pleasant relations with the German Lutheran pastors: it is true that they also served, as occasion was given, congregations of the Anglican Church. We find that already in 1721 the Rev. Hesselius, pastor of the Swedish church at Christina, received from the (Episcopal) "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," at London, the sum of ten pounds "for reading prayers and preaching in the several vacant churches in Pennsylvania," and that his services were further required; but we have documentary evidence that the ecclesiastical authorities of Sweden directly ordered the missionaries going to America to maintain a friendly relation with the united German Lutheran pastors.

It appears that Brunnholtz met Acrelius soon after his arrival in Pennsylvania, and reported to Mühlenberg that he had formed a very favorable impression of the new provost and of his clerical companion, and that Acrelius had promised to be present at the meeting of synod. When synod met at Providence, Acrelius did not come. In explanation he had sent to Brunnholtz a special message which never reached him. Acrelius, as he afterward explained in a very courteous letter in Latin and addressed to Mühlenberg, had been detained by official duties and by circumstances over which he had no control. Mühlenberg, after informing him—in a letter also in Latin—that Nyberg, of whom we have heard, had spread the report that the Swedish pastors purposely avoided

coming into contact with the German Lutheran pastors, and would much rather have to do with the Moravians, took occasion to express his deep regret that the brethren assembled in synod had been disappointed in not having the presence of the provost, and then threw some light on the character and ways of Nyberg. Acrelius in his answer expresses his utter disregard of this man, of whose principles and intrigues he had been already sufficiently informed, and says that he feels ashamed of such a countryman. Ever afterward he took occasion to show his highest appreciation of the character and the labors of Mühlenberg. His influence upon the Swedish congregations was a very happy one, and, while he was indefatigable in the performance of his official duties, he gathered much information about the country in which he was a stranger, paid in 1753 and 1754 visits to Ephrata (the socialistic community of the Seventh-day Dunkers living in conventual seclusion), and, in company with Brunnholtz, Unander, and Schleydorn of Philadelphia, to Bethlehem, of which he left to posterity highly-interesting reports. Following his literary tastes, he assiduously collected, during his sojourn in Pennsylvania, the material for his *History of New Sweden*, which work he wrote after his return to his native land, and thereby erected for himself a lasting monument. He was a man of much practical tact, ample information, solid and sober religious convictions, and sound judgment. Before coming to America he had served as chaplain in the Swedish navy. After his return to Sweden he served the Church of his country through many years as provost and pastor at Fellingsbro, diocese of Westerås. Mühlenberg introduces in his diary (in the year 1784, Oct. 20th) a letter addressed to him under date June 15, 1784, by Rev. C. M. Wrangel, D. D., successor of Acrelius in the provostship on the Delaware—of whom we shall hear hereafter—wherein it is stated that at that time Acrelius was almost totally blind and unable to do any work. It is said that he died in the year 1800 at the age of eighty-six years. That he enjoyed in an eminent degree the respect and the good-will of the united

pastors is clearly demonstrated by the fact that when, in 1752 (Oct. 1st), at the meeting of synod, the dedication of St. Michael's Church in Germantown took place, he was requested to perform the solemn act. He had an accurate knowledge of the German language, and sometimes preached, likewise, in the English. On the above-mentioned occasion Rev. Olof Parlin, also pastor of Wicaco church, was present.

During the summer of 1750, Conrad Weiser, Esq., was requested by the provincial government of Virginia to meet representatives of the Canadian Indians at Albany. He intended at the same time to visit the congregations on the Hudson, where, after his arrival from Europe as a youth in 1710 and the following years, he had been living. There he expected once more to see some of his old friends and acquaintances. In that locality Hartwig had the field of his pastoral labors. Weiser invited Mühlenberg to accompany him. There were reasons which moved Mühlenberg to accept the invitation. Hartwig had never been backward in showing his sympathy with the "Hallenses"—Mühlenberg and his united brethren—and paid his respects to them by repeatedly visiting Pennsylvania. He had a right to expect a visit in return. He was laboring under difficulties in his congregations, and the dissatisfaction which broke out among his parishioners was a weapon which Berkenmeier, already known to us as an opponent of the pastors of the Halle school, was but too ready to use against him. The condition of the Lutherans on the Upper and Lower Hudson was a subject calculated to engage the interest of Mühlenberg, and to hasten his resolution to avail himself of the opportunity now offered to accompany his father-in-law on this journey.

Aug. 16th, Mühlenberg started on horseback from Providence and paid a short visit to Schrenk, whom he found in a satisfactory condition, and who on the 17th became his companion to Bethlehem. Here he met Weiser, and accompanied him to Bishop Cammerhof, who treated them politely and conversed with them on general subjects. This was the first time that Mühlenberg saw Bethlehem. He found there large, massive

buildings, used for schools and other interests peculiar to Moravianism, a considerable number of inhabitants—especially children—and had a very agreeable prospect of the Lehigh River, the valley, and the well-wooded mountains rising on the south side of the river. In the afternoon of the same day, with Weiser and Weiser's body-servant, he went on, by a fine road laid out by the Moravians, to Nazareth, one of the agricultural stations of the Moravians, and took a night's rest at an inn five miles distant. Mühlenberg enjoyed the journey to the Hudson, though made under considerable difficulties. He rode a stiff old horse; his throat was so sore that he could hardly make himself heard. Before leaving his home his wife—in those days wives were obliged to aid in the most various ways—had, in bleeding him, struck the vein somewhat too deeply; in consequence of this mistake his hand was swollen and painful. He says he certainly presented a pitiable figure as a traveller.

Aug. 18th, they started very early, had to pass a high rocky ridge—probably the one running west from the Delaware Water Gap—and after travelling thirty-six miles were constrained by a native of Holland of high social standing in that neighborhood, an old acquaintance of Weiser's, to tarry with him over night. This gentleman, living near the Pennsylvania frontier, seemed to be an honest, well-meaning man. The government had years before appointed him a justice of the peace, but, not being well versed in law questions and distant from the residence of the learned representatives of the government, he found himself sometimes considerably perplexed in the performance of his official duties. In such cases he gave the parties appearing before him and expecting his legal aid the advice to go into the yard behind the house and there to settle the dispute by the right of might; when this was done he made peace between them and allowed them to depart. Under such circumstances he finally lost his office and retired from the turmoil of a restless world. He was now very aged. His conversation gave evidence of his firm Christian convictions: he said grace before and after meals, prayed

in a truly edifying manner before going to rest, and his discourse was full of good, sound judgment.

Aug. 19th the travellers crossed the Delaware, possibly not far from the present Stroudsburg, Monroe county, Pa., and after travelling thirty-two miles visited a Dutch Reformed minister, with whom they had edifying conversation. Mühlenberg was embarrassed by the loss of his voice in consequence of his severe catarrh. On the following day they made forty miles, travelling at first up the Delaware through rough, uncultivated lands. At dinner, which was offered them by another old acquaintance of Weiser, also a justice of the peace and major of the militia, bear-steak was set before them. In travelling farther they met a live bear, which, however, took to flight, and also with a number of Indians. Over night they stayed in the wilderness with a man called "the old Spaniard," because his father, a Spaniard, had come to this country as a prisoner, and had married a woman who was a native of Holland. The son, as Mühlenberg says, was a compound of the Spaniard's pompousness and the Hollander's rudeness. His six sons, sitting around him and smoking their pipes, proved that they were "apples of the same tree." He was not willing to give the strangers anything to eat, and with high bearing commanded them to betake themselves to the straw on the floor. On the following day (Aug. 21st) raccoon-flesh and pumpkins were set before them at an inn, and finally, after a ride of forty-one miles, they reached Kingston on the Hudson, having in five days travelled two hundred miles. The heavy rain of the day following allowed them to rest and to recruit.

Aug. 23d, crossing the Hudson in a ferry-boat with their horses, they came to Rhinebeck, the residence of Hartwig. Their arrival caused much joy among the old friends of Weiser, and among all those who entertained a good opinion of the Pennsylvania pastors. They came to Hartwig's lodgings to converse with Mühlenberg, the long-expected visitor, but on account of the continued bad condition of his throat he could not speak to them as he wished. Hart-

wig was in good health, but his congregations were in considerable agitation and confusion. His intentions were laudable, but from the beginning of his labors in that field Berkenmeier, the representative of the old orthodox and formalistic school as opposed to the more subjective character of the Halle Pietism, exercised an inimical influence, since Hartwig had shown his decided sympathy, not with him, but with the Halle pastors in Pennsylvania. He laid stress upon profession of the orthodox faith and the old ways and forms of the Church; Hartwig and the Halle pastors urged personal appropriation of the saving truth which the Confessions of the Church proclaimed. There was in principle no contradiction between the two sides; in practice the lines were divergent. Hartwig was inexperienced in this American branch of Christ's vineyard, accustomed to a condition of things as they are in Germany, could or would not adapt himself in his pastoral practice to circumstances as he here found them, and was isolated from judicious counsellors. Those who are ever on the alert to find fault were also here not wanting nor idle, and but too prone to treat the smallest mistake as a criminal act. Slanderers were also at work, and the four tracts published by Berkenmeier and describing Hartwig as a Moravian and enthusiast had made their impression upon the ignorant and upon those who would not submit to the gospel when seriously preached and directed against their ungodly ways and habits. Berkenmeier, not satisfied with having even sent charges against Hartwig to the Rev. Phil. David Kraeuter, D. D., at that time pastor of the old Hamburg or Trinity Church in London—who very properly answered that before judging he ought to hear what the accused had to say—in conjunction with the Rev. Nicol. Sommer, pastor at Schoharie, his son-in-law, and the Rev. Mich. Christian Knoll, pastor of the Dutch Lutheran congregation of New York, whom we have already met, held a convention in one of Hartwig's congregations, and resolved that, as Hartwig held Moravian principles, he should be deposed from his office. This is the same Berkenmeier

who was so scrupulous about dealing with the miserable Wolf in the Raritan churches. To that resolution the numerous friends of Hartwig, who had been spiritually benefited by his services, offered successful opposition. It was an unhappy circumstance that shortly before the visit of Mühlenberg such a worthless character as Carl Rudolph had made a visit to these parts, and had been allowed by the disaffected in one of the congregations, called Camp, to enter the church, and thus to make the existing confusion still worse. This congregation was therefore given up by Hartwig. On Aug. 24th, Weiser, leaving Rhinebeck, was accompanied for a distance of twenty miles by Hartwig and Mühlenberg. At the residence of a wealthy landowner, Livingston, they were well received, but learned that the Indians, formerly allied to the English, and now to be visited by Weiser, had joined the French. Weiser, however, proceeded on his way. Aug. 25th a number of the members of the Camp congregation requested Mühlenberg to hold services in their church on the following day, the eleventh Sunday after Trinity. Hartwig advising the acceptance of the invitation, as desirable results might follow, Mühlenberg consented. On the following day, when the service was held, the existence of two parties was easily observable. The adherents of the one entered the church, those of the other listened from the outside. Unfortunately, Mühlenberg, still troubled with hoarseness, was obliged to make the greatest exertions to be understood. Since Carl Rudolph was the last to officiate in that church, he prayed God again to purify this house for his honor, to reunite the dispersed sheep of the flock, and to forgive those who had allowed that servant of Satan to enter there. After service some of the aged officers of the congregation promised that they would take courage, renew their efforts for the continuation of divine services, and assist as much as possible, though there were so many opponents influenced by the calumnies of Berkenmeier. During the following week Mühlenberg visited another congregation, called Tar Bush, but could collect but few members, as most of them clung to Berkenmeier, and had, in addition,

been distracted by Carl Rudolph. By the use of strong medicine Mühlenberg broke his catarrh, and preached on the following Sunday at Rhinebeck before a large assembly. There were present some Dutch inhabitants who rejoiced that on account of Mühlenberg's pronunciation of the German they were able to understand the whole sermon, but there was much joy also among all the people and a pleasing prospect of seeing the discordant parties again united. In the afternoon Hartwig preached, as Mühlenberg said, a fine sermon on a part of the Catechism and instructed the children.

Sept. 3d a general conference, to which some of the elders of the four congregations under Hartwig's care were invited, and to which all church-members had free access, was held at Rhinebeck. The first topic discussed was the charges laid by Berkenmeier before the Rev. Dr. Kraeuter at London, who had sent them here to give the accused opportunity of defence. It was proved during the investigation that Hartwig in some things had not erred intentionally, and more in the manner than in the matter, that the facts had been frequently distorted and exaggerated by the malice of enemies, and that if no party spirit had prevailed no particular notice would have been taken of certain acts which proceeded from the earnest zeal of a faithful pastor. The second topic was the question whether Hartwig should resign and move to Pennsylvania, or whether he should leave here for a certain time and meanwhile prepare a printed defence to the public against Berkenmeier's accusations. To the first proposition many of the right-minded members present would not consent; the second was unanimously accepted, on condition that during the absence of Hartwig a substitute should be sent from Pennsylvania; on the third point our sources are silent. The minutes of the conference containing the essentials were signed by the elders present. Mühlenberg's personal efforts during the following days to mollify the aversion of some under the sway of Berkenmeier against Hartwig were of no avail. Mühlenberg shows his sound and solid knowledge of the human heart by saying, "The shallow reasons based on the mistakes and

infirmities of Mr. Hartwig would not have sufficed to give their hatred the semblance of legitimacy if a power in the background had not strengthened their malicious passion. It is a deplorable thing whenever such strifes arise in congregations, since all the members, almost without any exception, are connected with each other by intermarriage, relationship, etc., and the disaffected will not rest, but continue the agitation to increase their influence and to accomplish their purpose. The pastor's support, which comes directly from the individual members, is diminished in the same ratio in which the number of the discontented increases, and the others lose courage and fear that the burden will fall wholly upon them. In short, it is under such circumstances easier to be a cowherd or a shepherd in Germany than to be a pastor here, where every peasant acts the part of a patron of the parish, for which he may have neither the proper intelligence nor the necessary skill." Mühlenberg also openly tells us why Hartwig could not fail, in spite of his good intention, to give much offence. Lutherans and Calvinists often intermarried. He thought it a part of his duties to preach anti-Calvinistic sermons; one of his predecessors in a Lutheran charge on the Hudson, Justus Falkner, had even published a learned book against the Calvinists. Maintaining, also, strictly, the rules laid down in the venerable Lutheran liturgies, he would not accept members of the Reformed Church as sponsors for children of Lutheran parents; he also rejected grandparents for the same office, since their age would prevent the performance of their sponsorial duties in case of the prior death of the parents. He travels too frequently to Pennsylvania without the consent of his congregations; he is too scholastic in his instruction of the catechumens, too austere in his intercourse with the people, often refuses them access, frequently appears no less than two hours after the appointed time of public service, makes the people sing too long, and preaches too long, to their great inconvenience; he is very self-willed and stubborn and unwilling to take advice, saying that he had come here not to learn, but to teach. Some also

found fault with him for not retaining the friendship of "old Father Berkenmeier." Undoubtedly, some of these things convey serviceable hints to beginners in the pastoral office. Mühlenberg wisely adds that for the pastoral office in this country, for maintaining the proper relation between the pastor and the people, and for doing justice to both, there is need not only of a measure of charity and truth, talent and grace, but especially also of a sanctified temper.

Sept. 9th, Mühlenberg held public services in a barn for a congregation at Ancram, about eighteen miles distant from Rhinebeck. Preaching German in the morning, English in the afternoon, he met there a number of persons testifying to the benefits they had derived from Hartwig's preaching and to his Christian character. On the 10th and 12th of September, Mühlenberg again preached at Camp, and on the 16th at Rhinebeck. At the same time he bade farewell to the congregations. During his visits some of the opponents of Hartwig had gone to see and to report to Berkenmeier, whose residence was at Loonenburg (Athens) on the Hudson. To their questions as to what he thought of Mühlenberg, he answered that he had nothing to say against him and considered him a truly evangelical preacher. It may be proper to state that at the time Berkenmeier pursued his studies in Germany many grave objections were properly made to the morbid religious manifestations in many of the adherents of Pietism; impressions of such a character may have accompanied Berkenmeier when, in 1725, he arrived in America. In his opinion, now frankly given, he does no less honor to himself than to Mühlenberg.

Sept. 17th, Mühlenberg held services in the small congregation at Statesbury, eight miles distant from Rhinebeck. On the 18th he and Hartwig moved to the house of a member of the Lutheran congregation, situated on the Hudson, to await the arrival of a boat to take them down the river. The old horse which had carried Mühlenberg from Pennsylvania, and had served him for nearly seven years, he presented to a poor man; the saddle and bridle he sold. He had reasons to

look back with thankfulness upon the four weeks spent in congregations on the Hudson. It was in no man's power altogether to remove all the difficulties existing there, but by his preaching and conversation with individuals, and his general happy intercourse with the people, he had certainly contributed largely to the pacification of the disturbed minds. He was far from shutting his eyes to the shortcomings and errors of Hartwig, but he acknowledged the good that was in him, his undeniable abilities, his warm-hearted piety, his sincere though sometimes injudicious zeal. Mühlenberg had acted a noble part in defending against unjust partisan attacks a friend who never had made a secret of his attachment to the Pennsylvania pastors. It was in harmony with this that Pennsylvania hospitality was now offered to Hartwig, whose temporary absence from his congregations seemed advisable under existing circumstances.

Sept. 22d, Mühlenberg and Hartwig reached Kingston in a small boat, were kindly received by the Dutch Reformed pastor in the town, and in the evening set sail in a large vessel for New York, ninety miles distant. They were favored in having respectable companions. On Sunday, the 23d, they held services, singing a psalm and Hartwig preaching in English. At four o'clock P. M. they arrived at New York, which Mühlenberg calls "the ancient, renowned city."

New York—or, as during the Dutch government it was called, New Amsterdam—at that time, in age, did not amount to even one hundred and fifty years. Its renown also at that time was rather restricted to the New World, unless it rests on the intolerant Calvinistic despotism prevalent there until the English in 1664 conquered the town and the province. In 1657, when the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam, in reponse to the petition of the Lutherans at New Amsterdam and at Albany—who also were of Holland—had sent to them a pastor, Rev. John Ernest Goetwater, he was not only prohibited from exercising the functions of his office, but in the very year of his arrival was even mercilessly sent back to Holland. A few years later, however, the Lutherans of New Amsterdam were

organized into a congregation, and in 1671 they planned and prepared for the erection of a church, which was soon after built outside of the city proper, but in 1773 was removed by the government for military reasons, another church being erected within the fortifications. The first pastor serving the congregations there and at Albany was Jacob Fabricius, sent by the Amsterdam Lutheran Consistory in 1668. When, in consequence of his offensive habits and manners, he was after some years deposed from his office by the governor of the province, he was in 1677 elected pastor of Wicaco congregation at Philadelphia, proved in this position respectable and acceptable, and served, as occasion was given, Swedish and Dutch settlers as far as the Maryland frontiers, though for nine years before his death—which occurred, most probably, in 1693—he was blind.

His first successor—possibly, for a time, colaborer—in New York was Bernhard Antony Arens, who was ordained by Fabricius, and most probably served the Lutherans there to the end of the century, and during the latter period of his life also at Albany; his second one for a short time in the years 1701 and 1702 was Andrew Rudman, who, having served the Swedish Lutherans in Philadelphia from 1697, intended in 1701 or 1702 to return to his native country, Sweden, but in consequence of the solicitations of the New York Lutherans remained at New York, and before returning, on account of his sickly condition, to Philadelphia (in the neighborhood of which he died in 1708), succeeded in finding a successor of excellent character and ability, the Rev. Justus Falkner, whom we met at New Hanover in Pennsylvania as pastor of the first German Lutheran congregation on this continent. He served, in addition to the New York congregations, those at Albany, Loonenburg, Hackensack, and probably the German Lutherans on the Raritan; also, when, in 1708–10, the Palatines settled on the Hudson, Joshua Kocherthal's congregations during this pastor's voyage to England in 1710. When Falkner retired, about 1723, Berkenmeier, recommended by the clergy of Hamburg and examined and ordained by the Amsterdam

Consistory, arrived at New York as his successor in 1725. In the interval John Bernh. van Dieren, the pretender to the pastoral office who from 1717 had officiated at Schoharie and in congregations on the Hudson, now also, but without effect, tried to gain influence at New York, but was soon driven off the field, and then for a long time disturbed congregations in New Jersey. Berkenmeier served, in addition to New York, Albany, Loonenburg, Newburg, and West Camp, and from time to time visited other congregations, preaching in Dutch and in German. The field of labor at New York, Hackensack, Remmerspach, and Newburg after Berkenmeier, in 1731, retired to the Upper Hudson, was in 1732 and following years served by Rev. Michael Christian Knoll with indifferent success. During his time German Lutherans settling in New York City knocked at the door of the old Dutch congregation, which under Berkenmeier had erected a new stone church. With the permission to have every third, then every second, Sunday service in the German language, they were after the lapse of some time dissatisfied, and finally, in 1745, separated from it under the leadership of J. L. Hofgut, who had been deposed in Würtemberg from the clerical office, and was also here forbidden by the government to exercise clerical functions. For a short time he was succeeded by the worthless Carl Rudolph, ever present when he scented from afar an occasion to fall upon prey. In 1750, having found the Rev. John Fred. Riess—who in September, 1749, had arrived at Philadelphia, and had made the acquaintance of Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz without attaching himself to them—the New York German Lutherans gave him, in August, 1750, a regular call, having also, though thereby burdening themselves with a heavy debt, bought a brewery and changed it into a house of worship. There were then a new German congregation at New York—unfortunately consisting to a large extent of very unspiritual elements—and also the old Dutch church, very much reduced in numbers in consequence of the cessation of immigration from the mother-country, but consisting of highly-respected material, the younger portion

of which, however, had a significant leaning toward the English language.

These were the circumstances, given in general outline, under which, in September, 1750, Mühlenberg, visited the Lutherans at New York. Not a word has he written in his diary of the romantic beauty of the river whose waters had carried him down to one of the largest and safest harbors of the globe, but in the condition of those who belonged with him to the same household of faith he took a deep interest. Though knowing that under the dissensions then existing among them his visit would not be free from embarrassment, he considered it his duty to mediate between the parties there arrayed against each other.

Sept. 24th, Mühlenberg, in company with Hartwig, paid his respects to Riess, with whom he had become acquainted in Philadelphia. Riess gladly received his visitors, sent for some of the officers of his flock, and requested Mühlenberg to preach in his pulpit the following Sunday. In refusing to do so Mühlenberg reminded Riess of the advice given him in Philadelphia, not to become a tool in the hands of the dissatisfied in the old congregation while the legitimate pastor, Knoll, still held his position. Riess admitted that in his congregation two men of low character wielded the power. He expected, however, to bring things to a successful issue by collecting money, for which purpose the governor of the province had given permission. The result was that a year later Riess left in disgust. His adherents testified to their own despicable character by calling the notorious Andreæ from Pennsylvania, and, after his refusal to come, one of his followers and creatures, Ph. H. Rapp, an unprincipled intruder into the pastoral office, who scrupled at nothing to injure the old Dutch congregation and to disconnect from it all its German members. In later years Riess faithfully served congregations on the Upper Hudson and in the Mohawk Valley, maintained friendly relations with the united pastors of Pennsylvania, and died in 1791 at Churchtown, N. Y. Rapp at the end of 1753 was called to the German-

town congregation, served up to that time by Andreæ, who, Jan. 1, 1754, came to a miserable end. Deposed from the office in 1765, Rapp found adherents in the Tohicon congregation, Bucks county, Pa., lost his position there in 1771, may afterward have found some support in Macungie and neighboring localities, where in former years he had served, and in 1779 ended his shocking career by committing suicide.

Sept. 25th, Mühlenberg visited some of the officers of the old Dutch congregation, who in their church troubles had several times addressed themselves to the Pennsylvania pastors, and now requested him on the coming Sunday to preach in their church. To this he consented. On the succeeding day he paid his respects to J. M. Magens, Esq., at Flushing, seventeen miles from New York, like other individuals of that name, and probably of the same family located in divers places, a faithful member of the Lutheran Church. Some of them were in high official positions in the Danish West Indies. A Mrs. Magens had assisted the building of Trinity Lutheran Church in London in 1673 with the liberal gift of five hundred pounds. J. M. Magens, having learned that Hartwig was exposed to unjust persecution, had given him a call as chaplain to his family; which was, however, not accepted. Magens received and treated his guests with much kindness. Hartwig led the devotional exercises of the family every evening. Having (Sept. 29th) returned to the city, Mühlenberg and Hartwig learned that Berkenmeier, whose presence and advice some of the church-officers had, at the resignation of Knoll, requested, had arrived. Mühlenberg at once went to pay his respects to him, and was very politely received. It was, as far as we know, the only time that these representatives of two different theological schools—the orthodox, standing on *fides, quæ creditur*, over against the Pietist's *fides, qua creditur* —ever met. The offer of Mühlenberg not to preach on the following Sunday, as was appointed, unless Berkenmeier gave his consent, was not accepted, though Berkenmeier said that for certain reasons he would not be present. Of the conversation, continued for some time, Mühlenberg has unfortunately

left us no record. Sept. 30th, Mühlenberg, not yet venturing upon the Dutch language, preached in the morning in German; in the afternoon in English. The words he enters in his diary prove how much he took to heart the condition of that congregation and of all Lutheranism in New York. "It is a distressing condition of things," he says. "There is a fine, well-built church in a good locality in the city; they have four hundred pounds at interest, and there is a comfortable parsonage. A pastor could receive one-third of the necessary salary from the interest, and would have a privileged locality in which the gospel according to the Augsburg Confession might be preached in German, Dutch, and English; but now it seems as if the end were not far off. There are no children, there is no help, and laughing heirs are waiting for the dying moment." Berkenmeier's advice to the officers of the congregation was to recall Knoll or to get a pastor from beyond the Atlantic. Gloomy were Berkenmeier's views of the future. At another visit, toward the end of the year, prophesying that ravenous wolves would after his departure break into the sheepfold, he left New York for ever for his home at Loonenburg, where he died a year later at the age of sixty-nine.

Mühlenberg and Hartwig on Monday, Oct. 1st, bade farewell to New York. At New Brunswick they were hospitably entertained by Rev. Arthur, a Presbyterian pastor, who soon afterward was taken away in the prime of life. Hartwig proceeded to Philadelphia; Mühlenberg, to the Raritan congregations, where (Oct. 4th) he found Weygand in a satisfactory condition; met also Weygand's father-in-law, Van Dieren. On Oct. 7th he was again in the midst of his family at Providence.

A short time afterward Catechist Raus, furnished with strict instructions as to his conduct, was despatched to Hartwig's congregations on the Hudson. Hartwig was during the ensuing six months to assist Brunnholtz in Philadelphia and Germantown, and to perform services in the congregations of Old Goshenhoppen and Indianfield, which at last had dismissed

Andreæ. We know that toward the end of November, Brunnholtz, Handschuh, Hartwig, Kurtz, and Schaum met at Providence, and from there travelled to the Raritan congregations to dedicate the new church, to ordain Weygand, and to marry Schaum to the daughter of Elder Pickel. Schaum had the misfortune during the journey, by sleeping on the bare floor, to catch a heavy cold, which, settling in his hip, was exceedingly painful and disabled him for a number of months. His wife and the child she had just borne him he lost through death in May, 1752.

CHAPTER XVII.

1748 et seq. (*continued*).

The Dutch Lutherans of New York give a call to Mühlenberg.—Difficulties.—Importance of the case.—Pastoral conference at Tulpehoken.—Handschuh to be transferred to Germantown; Mühlenberg to spend a limited time at New York.—He again visits Upper Milford and other congregations then served by Catechist Schrenk.—Synodical meeting at Philadelphia, 1751.—Mühlenberg, accompanied by Hartwig, sets out for New York.—Pastoral work there; preaches in the Dutch language.—Pays his respects to some of the clergy of the city.—Visits the Dutch Lutherans at Hackensack, N. J.—Lawrence van Buskirk.—Rev. J. Fr. Riess.—Relation between the Dutch and the German congregation at New York.—Rev. Eb. Pemberton, D. D.—Mühlenberg returns to Providence.

THE officers of the old Lutheran congregation in New York were in no manner relieved by Berkenmeier's final admonition. They could not recall Knoll, neither would they call a pastor from Europe. They resolved to invite Riess and his adherents to a conference, and to lay before them the question whether they were willing unitedly to call Mühlenberg as pastor to serve in Dutch, German, and English. To this the other party defiantly answered that their pastor, Riess, would have to be acknowledged as the pastor of the whole united congregation—a proposition to which the other party could not consent, for various and decisive reasons.

A letter written in the Dutch language, dated Nov. 8, 1750, and signed by nine members—among them J. M. Magens—of the old congregation, and probably representing also, in an informal manner, the vestry, allowed Mühlenberg to see the drift of the sentiments prevailing there and the direction they took in regard to him. The writers say that the present vacancy in their congregation cannot be tolerated any longer; that they need a faithful pastor to prevent its total

destruction, a man—yea, a father—who would be able, "as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings," to gather the scattered members again under the wings of our pure evangelical doctrine; that after long meditation they had arrived at the conviction that Mühlenberg was the man to help them in their distress; that they were convinced he would take to heart the building up of the Church and do all for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, and accomplish what would prove a blessing not only to the present generation, but to posterity, to guard souls against erring from pure doctrine; that he certainly could not refuse to come to them—at least for one, two, or three years, or as long as might please him to care for them—to the end that the estranged members might be regained and finally a faithful assistant secured. They considered it necessary, owing to the precarious condition of their congregation, that Mühlenberg should hasten to come—the sooner the better. The entreating tone of this letter clearly demonstrates that Mühlenberg had at his visit among them won golden opinions, and that all their hopes centred on him. Dec. 3, 1750, he answered in a very modest manner, thanking them for the confidence bestowed upon him, but saying that they ought to consider that they were assigning him an exceedingly difficult task: he refers to the condition of the Lutheran Church in the whole province of New York, the difficulty of bringing about an amelioration, and the obligations he was under with respect to his present field of labor, his brethren, and his family. Willing as he was to make a sacrifice, he would have to be assured that his present congregations would not be left a prey to the wolves, but be placed in good, trustworthy hands; would have to receive permission from the Fathers in Europe for such a change; would claim the liberty to be present at the yearly meetings of the synod in Pennsylvania, and as a missionary to visit forsaken congregations in the province of New York; would in the beginning preach only in German and English; and would decide the whole question after having received a regular call from them.

It cannot escape our observation that Mühlenberg, though realizing his responsibility, was not averse to making a change and to undertaking a new task unexpectedly presented by the invitation from New York. He not only felt that in that city of rapidly-growing social and commercial importance Lutheranism, if properly represented, would have a promising future, but his reflections on the condition of the Lutheran congregations as it then was in Pennsylvania allowed him to think that a limited absence from the old field of labor would not be connected with disastrous consequences. His external circumstances also seemed to make a change desirable. Brunnholtz, as he tells us, was then in a more healthy and vigorous state; there was a probability that soon a new colaborer might be sent from Halle; Kurtz was at work at Tulpehoken; Schaum, though painfully suffering for a number of months, at York; Weygand, on the Raritan; Hartwig, though the people complained of his austerity and severity in discipline and preaching, was just then active at Old Goshenhoppen and Indianfield; Handschuh was at his post at Lancaster, though under considerable disadvantage. His own congregations gave Mühlenberg some cause of dissatisfaction. Those members who at first had given their signatures to his support had in part died, in part moved away, and he felt that his just claims were neglected; his family was increasing, and at the end of year he was to some extent in debt. He thought a young beginner might readily continue the work where with very arduous labor he had at first broken the ground. In New Hanover the school was in a good condition under a faithful teacher, Michael Walter, successor of J. J. Loeser. In Providence, where a new school-house had been erected during 1750, the parochial teacher and his family were a cause of considerable offence. On the west side of the Schuylkill Lutherans and Reformed had united to erect a school-house, which was alternately used by each party for divine services.

A regular call, dated Feb. 1, 1751, sent to Mühlenberg by the vestry of the Dutch Lutheran congregation of New York,

necessitated a final decision. It was found advisable to hold a pastoral conference, and to discuss not only Mühlenberg's call to New York, but also Handschuh's situation at Lancaster, and other topics connected with these problems. March 20th, Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Hartwig arrived at Reading, a few years before laid out as a town and promising progress. Here they met Tob. Wagner and conversed with him. Weiser had already selected here a lot of ground for a Lutheran church, to be erected as soon as circumstances would allow. The following day the travellers arrived at Tulpehoken, and on March 22d for bodily exercise they, with some of the friends, ascended the highest point of the South Mountain, three miles distant from Weiser's residence, where a splendid panorama for a distance of thirty miles extended before them, limited to the west and the south-west by the Blue Mountain chain. The sun was shining, the sky was clear. Large rocks formed a protection against the March winds. Three eagles, probably having their nests in the lonely neighborhood, wheeled in circles above the heads of the strange visitors, rising higher and higher in the air until in the golden hues of the sunbeams they finally disappeared. This beautiful picture brought strange feelings to the hearts of the brethren, for it recalled to them the symbolic picture of the eagle couching in front of the widespreading golden rays of the sun on the Orphan-House at Halle. Many a Bible quotation having more or less bearing upon the occasion and the surroundings was then given, and some old German church-hymns were intoned on this lofty height and carried the praises of God to his throne. They all felt it was good to be there. Unwillingly they left their grand elevation to climb down again into the valley over rock and precipices, and to resume the cares and troubles of a world of labor. Toward evening Handschuh arrived and began a chapter of lamentations. He wished to leave Lancaster, and, as Mühlenberg somewhat ironically said, to "sit with Jonah on the side of the city, and there to wait till he might see what, after forty days, would become of it." It

was understood that Handschuh could no longer, with any advantage to himself and the congregation, remain at Lancaster. After long deliberations on various propositions it was finally deemed advisable to transfer him to the congregation at Germantown. Of this we shall give an account hereafter.

The views of the brethren concerning Mühlenberg's call to New York we can best gather from the answers he sent thither, wherein he says he had communicated the call to his congregations and brethren of the ministry. He states that his intended removal created much uneasiness among the well-disposed members of the congregations, and occasioned many speculations and reflections among the sects and parties by which the Lutherans were surrounded. That uneasiness, he says, proceeds not from want of love toward the brethren at New York, but from an unwillingness to part with him with whom they had been living in the bonds of faith and love for nine years. The evil talk of outsiders who suspect bad, selfish motives in this proposed change he regards not, and refers to 2 Cor. vi. 7–9. All the circumstances induced him to accept of the call only for a part of the time fixed in it. During this period the necessities of New York and of Pennsylvania will be brought to light. His family he will leave at Providence, especially to serve as a pledge to his beloved congregations. Possibly he might meet with a proper person who could be an assistant in teaching the young who might need instruction, provided the vestry would grant the parsonage for this purpose. He intended to leave Providence on May 13th and preach his inaugural sermon on Ascension Day (May 16th); wherein, however, he did not succeed.

During April, Mühlenberg made another tour through Indianfield, Birkensee, and the other congregations then served by Schrenk, as far as the Forks, where he preached also in English, and returned by the way of Saccum and Old Goshenhoppen. From this and neighboring congregations Hartwig now intended to return to the field on the Hudson, whence

Raus was called back to act as catechist in the congregations made vacant by Hartwig's departure.

When Mühlenberg bade farewell to his congregations, their great emotion proved their strong attachment to him. On May 9th he was at Philadelphia, and on the 10th had a long conversation with Provost Acrelius on the ecclesiastical affairs of Pennsylvania. It had appeared advisable to hold a synodical meeting antecedent to Mühlenberg's departure for New York. Sunday, May 12th, Hartwig solemnly dedicated the organ which had recently been ordered for St. Michael's Church from Heilbronn, now belonging to the kingdom of Würtemberg. At the business-meeting Tobias Wagner, whom Mühlenberg invited in a letter still preserved to us, was present. May 14th Mühlenberg left Philadelphia, accompanied by Hartwig, and after a tedious voyage by water and journey by land, aggravated by the disgusting harangues of a fellow-traveller with whom Hartwig fell into an altercation, they finally (May 17th) arrived at the house of a member of the vestry at New York, and on the 18th moved into the parsonage, where Mühlenberg, provided with the least possible furniture, began to live like a hermit.

May 19th, Mühlenberg preached in German in the morning and afternoon. The vestry would not allow Hartwig to preach in their church on account of his feud with Berkenmeier, which proves the respect they still had for their former pastor and counsellor. Riess had advised his party to unite with the old congregation, but, their unreasonable demands being rejected, they now thought Mühlenberg might separately serve both congregations.

Mühlenberg found pastoral work enough among his new flock. There were in it natives of Holland and of Germany, who in singing the praises of God at public worship commingled their voices and melodies in a manner terribly grating to the musical ear of Mühlenberg. On the other hand, his preaching a warm-hearted, living Christian piety fell strongly upon souls too much given to self-sufficiency and self-righteousness and thinking that an outward performance

of devotional acts and a respectable, inoffensive course of conduct were all that the gospel required. Other members at once gave evidence of their appreciation of the truths proclaimed by the new preacher. The German hearers delighted in his clear voice and pronunciation; the attendants at the Episcopal church, which was in close proximity, complained that that clear voice interfered with their edification.

Without further delay Mühlenberg as "præses" of synod —which office he held for many years, and which during the official terms had connected with it an extensive and laborious correspondence—requested Raus's return from the Hudson, and in agreement with the resolution synod gave him a call as catechist to labor in the congregations of Indianfield, Goshenhoppen, and Birkensee, as we formerly mentioned. Mühlenberg's time was much taken up with the visits he received and made. A small boy prepared breakfast for him at the parsonage; his dinner and his night's rest he found with some one of the vestrymen.

May 21st, Hartwig started to return to the Upper Hudson. May 26th, Mühlenberg preached in the morning in English, in the afternoon in Dutch, which was his first effort in this language; this affords another proof of his uncommon linguistic ability. He also says that he now was obliged to be more careful in the use of the English, as in the city the ears of the people are more refined than in the country. He very much felt the want of a large English quarto Bible, which, thus far, his means had not allowed him to buy, while his weak eyes demanded a large print. In March, 1754, he complains in a letter that in open, clear daylight he has had to use spectacles, and states in another letter (of Nov. 23, 1751) to Rev. J. M. Boltzius at Ebenezer, Ga., that without spectacles he could hardly read or write. He was then just past the fortieth year of his age. The preparation of his sermons in those foreign languages gave him much trouble, and he diligently gathered quotations from the Bible and words from the dictionary. On the above-mentioned Sunday (May 26th)—Whitsunday—the attendance at church had increased. He sorely felt the

want of a proper book containing the formularies for prayers and ritual acts. He made a collection of prayers and other forms as well as he could from various sources, conforming them as much as possible to the customs of the Dutch and the Germans. As these prayers had not yet been translated into the English, he had used parts of the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer—a fact which did not escape the ear of one of his vestrymen. The praises of his fluency in the English and of his good pronunciation of the Dutch were compliments which made no impression upon him after the services of the day. Preaching on Whit Monday in the German, he felt that he more effectually reached the hearts of his hearers, whose great lack of knowledge in the fundamentals of religion had not escaped his observation and moved him to address them in the very plainest manner. In the afternoon of that day Captain C. R. Hartel, a good, faithful church-member, one of the signers of the call sent to Providence, took Mühlenberg in a carriage to the country-seat of his brother-in-law, whose wife was also a member of the congregation. Mühlenberg, having been accustomed for years to a life in the open air, severely felt, amid the walls and houses of New York, the unavoidable change of surroundings, and says that as soon as he had the city behind him he felt as though transported into paradise. May 28th, at the first meeting of the vestry which he attended, after opening with prayer he showed his credentials; and when he had signed the rules of the congregation, they opened for his inspection their chests and account-books, which all appeared to be in regular form; and they paid him four pounds for his travelling expenses, with which he repaid Mr. Schleydorn of Philadelphia, who had loaned him the money. They also prepaid him a quarter's salary, which sum—about twenty pounds—was, however, spent in buying necessary clothing and furniture, "before," as he says, "it was earned." It was resolved at that vestry meeting that every Sunday one sermon was to be delivered in Dutch, the other in German.

Mühlenberg, being informed that pastors serving in the city

were expected to pay their respects to the supreme "judge" of the province, thought it proper not to depart from the time-honored custom, and went to the summer residence of that gentleman, outside of the city. The judge had some information about the newly-organized German Lutheran congregation, and had now an opportunity of receiving more light on the condition of Lutheranism in New York. Inspecting the credentials of Mühlenberg, he asked many questions concerning his life and his present situation. Seeing in his call to New York that Mühlenberg was expected to preach also in English, he approved of this, saying that in a few years all foreign languages would die out and the English would have sole possession, as demonstrated by the fact that the youth of all nations, soon forgetting their mother-tongue, learned the English. What would this high magistrate have thought if any one had assured him that one hundred and thirty years later there would be in that same city more than three hundred thousand Germans and an indefinite number of French, Italians, Bohemians, Scandinavians, and others? The judge inquired after Mühlenberg's family, and, learning of his near relationship to Weiser, said that he knew Weiser personally as an honest and a useful man, advised Mühlenberg to pay his respects also to the governor, and told him that the Moravians had received permission to erect a church. He then refreshed his visitor with a cooling drink and sent him back to the city in his own carriage.

Mühlenberg thought it proper to present himself before the leading pastors of various denominations, knowing that this would increase his knowledge of the general condition of Christ's kingdom in this part of the world. He was opposed to denominational unionism, and on all occasions acted accordingly, but personal and respectful friendship between representatives of various confessions he cherished, and did not think it wise to seal himself hermetically against those who, in spite of differences of religious convictions, enjoyed his esteem. He visited at New York the Rev. H. Barclay, formerly missionary among the Indians, now the most promi-

nent among the Episcopal clergy at New York. The Episcopalians were at that time engaged in building a second large church; the Dutch Reformed had two large churches and four pastors. The senior of them, Rev. Du Bois, who had already labored fifty-two years at New York, preached regularly, and still read the smallest print without glasses, received Mühlenberg very kindly, and invited him to his table. Mühlenberg also paid his respects to Rev. De Ronda, of the same denomination, who then as a preacher met with the greatest applause, but did not impress Mühlenberg with spirituality of character as much as did his wife, a lady of noble family, who in reply to a question of the visitor as to what had moved her to condescend to the position of a pastor's wife, answered that true nobility did not consist in blood, but in the birth from above through the Holy Ghost, and in other respects gave evidence of her understanding of spiritual things.

Accompanied by a few of the elders of the congregation, Mühlenberg (June 4th and 5th) visited a few members living on the west side of the Hudson, in New Jersey—among them, especially, Mr. Lawrence van Buskirk, who formerly had been an active member and officer of the Dutch congregation in New York, had assisted in building the church, and as a citizen maintained an honorable position, but under the pastoral term of Knoll did not attend divine service, and now, in his sixty-fifth year, was suffering with dropsy. Mühlenberg's visit apparently proved a blessing to him. During a protracted conversation the sufferer opened his heart to his visitor, narrated to him the course of his life, and most willingly accepted the counsel and spiritual encouragement which he needed. Mühlenberg found out and visited some other members of the congregation. On the following day (June 5th) he preached in Van Buskirk's residence to those who had assembled for this purpose, and the suffering host shed many tears and confessed that he had felt the word of God as a power giving him new life.

On his return to New York, Mühlenberg found Raus at his

lodgings, who on the following day departed for Pennsylvania. He was requested by Mühlenberg, while serving at Indianfield and his other churches, sometimes to preach at Providence and New Hanover, and in this way to relieve Brunnholtz and other brethren who had promised during Mühlenberg's absence to take care of his pastoral charge. Soon afterward Weygand came on a visit to New York, and reported to Mühlenberg that at Hackensack he had met Riess and conversed with him. He had learned from him that at the instigation of Knoll, who had resigned his charge, he had taken an interest in the Lutherans of that town, who counted between twenty-four and thirty families. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century there had been at Hackensack a congregation of Dutch Lutherans, to whose spiritual wants the pastors of the New York congregation had attended, until, under the services of Knoll, who had no success as a pastor, indifference began to prevail and the flock was more or less dispersed. The remnants of the Lutheran congregation, as well as the German Lutherans living at Remmerspach (which we also mentioned before), were occasionally visited by Riess. The Lutherans at Hackensack, learning through Weygand of the united Pennsylvania pastors and of their principles and ways, desired that Riess, who had listened to all this, should join them; for which, however, neither he nor they were prepared. Riess would have preferred a call to a suitable country charge; he did not feel at all comfortable in the hands of his party in New York, but could not yet free himself from that responsibility. Mühlenberg thought best to visit him. Riess braced himself up, used high words, complained of the gross manners of the Dutch, and seemed to be full of hope that his party would come in triumph out of the struggle. He had established a drug-store, was practising as a physician, and boasted of his large income from these sources.

June 23d some elders and deacons of Hackensack attended the services held by Mühlenberg. On the following day they conferred with him on the affairs of their congregation, and invited him to visit them, to preach for them, and to adminis-

ter the Lord's Supper. He was willing to visit them and to preach to them, for which the officers of his own congregation had been requested to give their consent. Before administering to their congregation the Lord's Supper he desired first to become better acquainted with them. They complained that Riess could not preach in the Dutch language, while they did not understand his German; they also disliked his independent, unsynodical position.

July 18th–24th, Mühlenberg paid his first, and Aug. 14th–21st, his second, visit at Hackensack. He was brought into contact with many of the members of the Lutheran congregation and with others. People came to see him, and he carefully improved the occasion to speak many a good word. It grieved him to learn that the title "Lutheran pastor" had become almost a reproach, as many had made it synonymous with litigious and quarrelsome vagabonds. Sunday, July 21st, he preached in the morning in Dutch; in the afternoon in English. In the morning the fine large church was not quite filled with Lutherans and Reformed, but, says he, "they paid attention with eyes, ears, mouth, and nose, and numbers were in tears. The poor Lutherans in this locality were very much dispersed, and had been driven away by the long-standing strifes of ministers and their bad example. They have a fine large church built of stone, and a parsonage. Some of them still keep together, meet in the church from Sunday to Sunday, and read a sermon. The singing has gone wholly to ruin; they are not able to sing even the best-known hymns: the lamentable noise they make is much more like a confused dispute than a melody. In the afternoon the church was too small, and large numbers had to stand outside around the doors and windows. I preached in English on the Prodigal Son (Luke xv.), and began singing, out of our English hymn-book, '*Jesus, deine tiefe Wunden*,' etc. The hymn and the melody being unknown, I read the verses aloud and led in singing. Some women followed with soft, melodious voices and agreeable harmony, so that the people were charmed. Never in my life did I see more attentive hearers.

God grant that it may not be in vain!" On the following Sunday, in accordance with the wish of the church-officers, he preached in German, many Reformed having expressed a desire to hear "that Lutheran." After services two men of the Remmerspach congregation came to him, in the presence of the Hackensack elders and deacons inquired about the state of affairs between the two parties at New York, and complained that Riess had now for six months kept them in suspense. He learned from them that also at Remmerspach they met from Sunday to Sunday, sang a church-hymn, and had a sermon read to them from a book written by Augustus Hermann Francke which had been brought to this country in the times of Queen Anne. The Hackensack people also pathetically entreated Mühlenberg not to forsake them, but to act toward them as a father, as for so many years they had had such sad experiences with preachers, and were like sheep without a shepherd.

Mühlenberg also here met with some cases which afforded special pastoral interest and gave him occasion to speak words of comfort to troubled souls. The wife of the host with whom he lodged was a member of the Reformed Church. Her pastor was a man of religious fervor, and apparently of considerable force as a preacher, but he was totally wedded to the strictest Calvinistic predestinarian principles, and considered it his duty to introduce them in his sermons whenever occasion was given. This had such a powerful effect upon the woman that she became horrified, fell into a dangerous sickness, and was still a sufferer, and with tears flowing complained that she had no assurance of being one of the elect and in a state of grace, and that she frequently felt nothing but fear of the divine wrath and eternal death, which in her case, as Mühlenberg was convinced, was the result of injudicious pastoral zeal. Another woman, wife of an elder, was also troubled with doubts concerning her own salvation. She had for a long time, feeling the force of the letter of the law, scrupulously tried to give satisfaction to its demands by strictly keeping the letter and fulfilling every possible require-

ment of it; yet she had found no peace of mind, but after she had confessed to a former pastor her sinful condition and want of saving faith in Him who had borne our sins, and received the answer that she should not doubt or she would be lost, unable to conquer all doubt, she feared she had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. Mühlenberg instructed her about the great love of God toward us, and gave her the sweetest assurances of divine loving-kindness found in the Bible, while he repeated to her the case of the distressed widow whose unceasing petitions moved the heart even of an atheistic, insolent judge, and said to her, "Certainly the heart of the Saviour, which was more tender than that of any mother, could not and would not remain unmoved by the crying of a child in extreme danger."

July 23d, Mühlenberg preached there once more in the Dutch language on the Beatitudes (Matt. v.). The two Reformed pastors of the town were both present, and the large assembly was very attentive. One man, a member of the Reformed Church, was so absorbed in reflecting upon the truths he had heard that after service he walked home, a distance of three miles, altogether forgetting that he had left his horse standing near the church. It was quite encouraging to Mühlenberg to find that the Lutherans in that locality now felt themselves animated with new hope, and no longer had cause to be ashamed of their religion when allusion was made to their pastors. But in his sober way of thinking he says: "The three disciples on the heights of the Mount of Transfiguration possibly also thought they would never be ashamed of their religion, but the situation had become quite different in the garden of Gethsemane." On July 24th he returned to New York. Before he left, the church-officers entreated him to return and administer the Lord's Supper, and to endeavor to have them reunited with the New York congregation.

Aug. 14th he again visited Hackensack. He had occasion to enter into conversation on religious topics with various individuals, and to give them instruction and comfort. He also succeeded in reconciling some members of the congre-

gation, who were finally willing to forgive each other their offences. After preparatory services held Aug. 17th he celebrated (Aug. 18th) the Lord's Supper with the congregation. An interest having been excited in the sacramental question, among Reformed as well as among Lutherans, in consequence of his touching upon this topic in conversation, Mühlenberg resolved to preach on the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. There were present, as might be expected, also many members of the Reformed persuasion; they as well as the Lutherans were desirous of hearing what Mühlenberg would say on this grave subject. As his text he took the words of the institution, and considered the Founder of it, the time and the circumstances, what was offered and what was received in it, and the benefits and the design of the ordinance. He says in his diary: "I refrained from all scholastic and unnecessary fancies, simply and sincerely rested on the clear testamentary words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and acted therein like Queen Elizabeth, who, when questioned by the Roman emissaries about this article of faith, answered, 'It was the Word that spake it; He took the bread and brake it; and what the Word did make it, that I believe and take it.'" After the sermon more than thirty individuals participated in the sacrament. Mühlenberg learned that his plain, straightforward manner of preaching had made a favorable impression on both sides. In the afternoon he preached to a large assembly on the Gospel of the Sunday. On the following day some of the elders went on horseback to a number of church-members and inquired whether they were not willing to accept of such a pastor and to contribute to his support, provided they could have service every fourth week. Quite a number of the Reformed, even, offered their assistance, which, however, was kindly refused. Some young people not yet confirmed, though married, who already had felt inclined to join some other denomination, now resolved, with the help of God, to become true members of the Church and of the congregation. On the evening of the same day the elders and the deacons met and presented

Mühlenberg a regular call. Learning that the old congregation at New York intended to address the Fathers in Europe, and to petition them to permit Mühlenberg to accept of their call, they requested him to send with it theirs also. On the following day Mühlenberg once more visited sick Mr. Van Buskirk, who resided twenty miles distant from Hackensack.

Aug. 20th, after giving the sick friend admonition and encouragement and addressing a number of Lutherans and Reformed who had gathered together, Mühlenberg was brought safely to New York in a boat belonging to Van Buskirk. In this city he was, as he tells us in his diary, not unpleasantly affected by the climate. "But," says he, "there is another inconvenience: they cannot give one a draught of good water. The wells in the town are brackish. The water for drinking and cooking the people are obliged to buy. Not far from the city, and also at its extreme limits, there are some wells containing moderately good water. Many persons make a living by daily filling barrels with water from the good wells and driving around with it for sale in the city." Perhaps during the summer heat at New York, Mühlenberg felt a longing for the sweet, cooling waters rushing forth from under the rocks and the hills around Providence, as the children of Israel in the desert longed for cool, refreshing springs. The change of locality and of manner of living had already in June seriously affected his health, and, though kind friends willingly paid attention to him, he was without the care which would have been bestowed upon him in his own house and by his family. June 17th, Weiser arrived at New York on another tour for the pacification of the Indians, and handed to his son-in-law a number of letters from Halle and London, which greatly rejoiced the heart of Mühlenberg, who, weakened as he was by the serious attack of sickness he had suffered, highly valued the kind remembrance in which he was held by men like Francke. Seeing that the attendance at church was increasing, and that numbers of the old natives of Holland who for years had forsaken their house of worship

had returned to it, he allowed no relaxation to his efforts, though the friends advised him to rest and to recover his usual strength. C. Weiser had come with one of his sons, who, influenced by the request of the government, intended to live for some time among the Indians, so as to be enabled, by learning their language, to serve hereafter as an interpreter between them and the English civil authorities.

The plan of a union between the old Dutch and the new German congregation was not yet given up. During the last week of June, Mühlenberg went to see some of the prominent members of the German congregation. Many of them, but not all, he found in a sober condition. They brought up various charges against the vestry of the other congregation, complaining that its members were proud, did not act rightly as to the property and the charities of the church, called the Germans "servants," and were against German services in the church. They were ready for a reunion, provided the Dutch congregation would buy the meeting-house and pay all the debts of the other party. Mühlenberg, who was not antagonistic to a proper union of the two parties, since neither of them gave sufficient signs of vitality to justify a separate existence, could easily refute all these objections. On this account he held (July 1st) a vestry-meeting, where all the propositions for a union were taken into consideration. The demands of the German party were found unreasonable. Even if the old congregation would financially relieve the Germans, the legal aspects of the act were by no means settled; there was no guarantee whatever given concerning the course the Germans might pursue in the future. The vestry met again on July 15th. A resolution was passed to frame certain articles as conditions for the proposed union, and to send a copy of them to the other party. It would lead us too far here to copy the preamble and articles. The whole document shows the considerate, far-seeing, careful mind of Mühlenberg, who had the strongest reasons for desiring a union of the two parties, but who would never purchase a seemingly good momentary result at the sacrifice

of principles on which alone could securely rest a true union and a sound progress of congregational life. Our conviction is that no articles or conditions, of whatever merit they were, could at that time have produced a healthful union of a lasting character. The very material of which Riess's congregation to a large extent consisted would have prevented the desirable result. Riess, after having received these articles, which were perfectly reasonable and quite liberal, when requested by Mühlenburg to make his adherents consider their own best interest and the honor of the Lutheran Church, reported, on the evening of July 17th, that he had assembled his party and gravely admonished them this time "not to come full of liquor" and to frame a proper answer on their part. *Sapienti sat.!* The first two or three men whom this German party after Riess's resignation elected as their pastors present evidence enough of the low moral tone prevailing among the leading individuals and of the total absence of a higher life. The answer from Riess's adherents coming to the old congregation showed that, while acceding to some of the propositions laid before them, they unconditionally demanded that the united congregation should bear the debts of the German party—that Riess should be requested to serve as pastor, and in the case of his unwillingness the Rev. Peter Sommer, pastor at Schoharie, a son-in-law of Berkenmeier, should be called. To the document framed in this spirit and handed by Riess to Mühlenberg not one man had given his signature. It was, in fact, a testimonial so framed as to satisfy Riess and hereafter to serve his purposes, but of no value for the interests then under consideration.

Mühlenberg, who had honestly endeavored to bring about a union between the two parties, saw plainly that for any progress in this direction the field was not prepared. To encourage and strengthen as best he could that flock which had entrusted itself to his care appeared to him his sole duty. He felt that by adding to the services held in the Dutch and German languages others held in the English he might exercise an influence upon numbers of those who were not bene-

fited by the services in the other languages. It had indeed been suggested to him that he should preach also in English; he resolved now to do so on Sunday evenings, though he found it a severe task during the hot days of summer to deliver on the same Sunday three sermons in three different languages. His vestrymen also were averse to any further discussion of the plan for uniting the two parties, and agreed that the pastor of their church should spend every fourth Sunday at Hackensack to build up that long-neglected congregation. There were numbers of people who in other churches had no evening services, and were averse to the Calvinistic principles then frequently preached and defended from many a pulpit. Sunday, July 28th, he began the evening services in English. The church was not large enough to accommodate all who came. The hymn-book—of which, however, only one copy was on hand—was the *Psalmodia Germanica*, or *the German Psalmody, translated from the High Dutch, together with their proper tunes and thoroughbass*, first published at London in two parts, 1722 and 1725; again published at London 1732. This latter edition was used in New York. Mühlenberg took for his text Luke vii. 36–50. On the following Sunday he preached, as before, in the morning in Dutch, administered the Lord's Supper to some fifty persons, and preached in the evening again in English to a still larger assembly. The days of the week he used for instruction of the young, for visits to the members of the church, especially to the sick, for correspondence, study, and meditation. July 10th–12th he spent at the residence of J. M. Magens (mentioned before) at Flushing. Returning thence in a small craft during rough weather, his life was for a moment in imminent peril while he was trying to aid in adjusting the rigging.

When, in the beginning of August, the vestry again assembled, Mühlenberg informed them that various letters from home made it obligatory on him toward the end of the month to return to his family. This news produced great consternation among the vestrymen. Various plans were proposed. To call a pastor directly from Europe would be a very hazardous

undertaking, since, inexperienced as he certainly would be, he would easily take wrong steps, and perhaps give the congregation, already weak enough, a death-blow. They thought the venerable Fathers in Europe might be willing to allow Mühlenberg—at least for a few years, if not for his lifetime—to settle at New York, since in Pennsylvania only one language, the German, was needed, while here two in addition. Mühlenberg certainly felt greatly embarrassed, and went so far as to say that, provided the Fathers ordered him to New York, he would have to obey. J. M. Magens was requested to address the Fathers on the subject, to entreat them mercifully to consider the lamentable condition of the congregation, and to order Mühlenberg to New York.

For the present Mühlenberg could not neglect the summons from Pennsylvania, and particularly from his family. He was willing at a later period again to devote time and strength to a cause which had such strong claims upon his sympathy. He had promised to stay three months during 1751 with the people who had called him to New York. Being unable to fulfil his promise now, he thought it his duty to continue through a substitute the work begun by himself, and for this reason he engaged the services of Weygand (then having care of the Raritan congregations) for at least six weeks. Weygand arrived Aug. 24th, and, having received all necessary information, advice, and instruction to keep a diary and to enter therein all his pastoral acts, he preached Sunday afternoon (Aug. 25th) in the German, while Mühlenberg preached in the evening in the English, when he took for his subject Gen. xxviii. 10. Weygand, as it seems, was at first not quite pleased with the appearance of things in the congregation now temporarily entrusted to his care. Compared with the large crowds which attended his services on the Raritan, his sphere of action appeared to him very much reduced. Mühlenberg told him that when beginning his work in Pennsylvania he had passed through the same experience and had the same feelings, but the care of even two or three souls, considering our inability for the proper performance of such responsible duties, was

too much for us, and we were often remiss in the proper attention to the interests of our own souls. Seeing in the evening a crowded church, Weygand took courage. He had at least some knowledge of the Dutch language, which circumstance particularly moved Mühlenberg to select him as a substitute.

We deem it proper to mention that a number of the pastors presiding in New York over congregations of various persuasions returned the visits of Mühlenberg. Among them was the Rev. Eb. Pemberton, D. D., pastor of a Presbyterian congregation, who as a forcible preacher influenced by the spirit of Whitefield, then a burning and shining light in the American provinces, stood in high esteem. In his conversations with him Mühlenberg found that this Presbyterian clergyman was not wholly uninformed concerning the peculiar doctrines of the Lutheran Church. He had read some of the Latin writings of Lutheran theologians, and thought that they were not precise enough in their description of repentance, since they stated that a sufficient recognition of sin, repentance for it, and distress about it could be brought about by the law. He admitted that by the law sin might be properly recognized in its quantitative relation, but that the consideration of the sufferings and the death of Christ would lead to a better understanding of its qualitative character. He also thought that the Lutheran theologians did not sufficiently define the elements of faith, *cognitionem, assensum, fiduciam*, especially the latter two. Mühlenberg, by referring directly to the statements of the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, succeeded in rectifying the misunderstanding of his clerical visitor, who spoke in the highest terms of Luther's writings, parts of which he had read. He specially mentioned Luther's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.*

Aug. 26th, the day on which Mühlenberg left New York to return to Pennsylvania, Riess also came to say "farewell," and for the same purpose some of his adherents. Trifling as this circumstance may appear, it is a welcome proof that he and they, though maintaining a position antagonistic to the

interests Mühlenberg represented, could not but respect him and were willing to make him acquainted with these their feelings. On the same day Mühlenberg was accompanied at noon by Weygand and some other friends to the vessel which took him over to New Jersey. By way of Philadelphia he arrived (Aug. 29th) in the midst of his family at Providence. Sept. 17th was born his second daughter, who in holy baptism was named Margaretta Henrietta, the name Henrietta in honor of the wife of the Rev. J. A. Francke, D. D., at Halle. The first daughter, Eve Elizabeth, saw the light of this world Jan. 29, 1748. The name Eve was given to her in honor of her grandmother Weiser, whose name was Ann Eve.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1751–1752.

Mühlenberg's pastoral work at Providence, New Hanover, and the vicinity.—Correspondence with his relatives at Eimbeck and with dignitaries of the Church in Germany.—Arrival of Rev. J. D. M. Heintzelmann and Rev. Fred. Schultz.—Heintzelmann appointed assistant to Brunnholtz.—His early death.—Schultz, for a time assistant to Mühlenberg, labors for a few years at New Goshenhoppen and at Indianfield.—His further career.—Mühlenberg again during three months active in pastoral work at New York and Hackensack.—He preaches in Dutch, in German, and in English; catechises adults; instructs, confirms, and administers the sacraments.—His interest in the colored race; views on certain recently-introduced measures.—Rev. Mich. Schlatter of the German Reformed Church.—His career in America and friendly relations with Mühlenberg.—Mühlenberg returns to Pennsylvania.—Statistics as to his pastoral work.—Extent of his influence.

THREE months and eight days Mühlenberg had spent at New York and Hackensack during the summer of 1751. Synod had granted him, as we learned, six months' leave of absence from his congregations and from Pennsylvania: for that purpose, consequently, almost three months were still at his disposal. He had accepted, though conditionally, the call given him by the old Lutheran congregation at New York; this call was still in force. He acknowledged the obligation resting upon him. The members of the New York church did not cease to remind him of their claims, and to these claims were now added those of the Lutheran membership at Hackensack. Mühlenberg intended to spend three months of the ensuing winter at New York, but as early as the fall, in answer to a letter of Captain C. R. Hartel (whose name is familiar to us, and who had informed him that the German party, in consequence of Riess's resignation, had already elected another pastor, and that the old church was in great

trouble), he stated that it would be impossible for him to come to New York before March, 1752. This, however, did not prevent further correspondence with the New York friends, who felt that without Mühlenberg their cause was lost. The vestry sent a pressing letter February 11, 1752. It was impossible for Mühlenberg to return to New York in March, but another letter of the vestry, dated April 6th, manifests great joy on the receipt of his promise to come yet in that month.

During the winter of 1751–52, Mühlenberg, as time and strength permitted, was attending to his duties in his congregations of Providence, New Hanover, and the various outposts on each side of the Schuylkill. There was also particularly entrusted to him the correspondence with the Fathers in Europe, who not only desired to receive from time to time the diaries dutifully kept by each of the pastors sent from Halle, but expected also extended reports on the general state of the Lutheran Church in America. To this necessary correspondence were added many private letters which Mühlenberg, in the interests of the congregations and pastors synodically united, sent to prominent men of the clergy and laity in Germany, who often by charitable acts showed their sympathy. The circle of correspondence included especially also his relations and other acquaintances at Eimbeck, his native place, where at the end of 1747 his mother, at the age of seventy-two years and three months, less four days, had died and gone to her eternal rest. March 17, 1752, he despatched letters to his two brothers, Henry Christopher and John Arndt, living at Eimbeck. He corresponded also with one of the Eimbeck pastors and with friends from the ranks of the laity. Of special value to us are his letters addressed to men in high position in the Church—among others, Rev. J. Ph. Fresenius, D. D., Rev. Sam. Urlsperger, D. D., and Rev. Ph. H. Weissensee, D. D., one of the highest dignitaries of the Church of Würtemberg. A number of such extended and very instructive letters were written during the winter of 1751–52. One of them, dated Nov. 15, 1751, and addressed

to Fresenius, gives a very striking description of the ecclesiastical and spiritual condition of the field in which Mühlenberg and his colaborers were carrying on the work of the Lord.

Dec. 1, 1751, two other missionaries—Rev. John Dietrich Matthaeus Heintzelmann and Rev. Frederick Schultz—arrived from Halle. Heintzelmann, a native of Salzwedel, in the neighborhood of Magdeburg in Prussia, son of a physician, having completed the usual preparatory classical course in the place of his birth and at Stendal, received his theological education at Halle, where he was for a time inspector in one of the Francke schools. It appears that his superiors had for some time regarded him as especially fitted for missionary work in America. When, finally, the call to that distant field came to him, he after prayerful and prolonged consideration gave his hearty consent. The Fathers at Halle and the directors of the Orphan-House and of institutions connected with it did not look with perfect satisfaction upon certain privileges granted to unordained assistants or catechists in the field of labor in America—a point to which we formerly referred. For this reason Heintzelmann and his companion, Schultz, though without a call from any local congregation, were ordained at Wernigerode, July 11, 1751, before starting on the voyage to the New World. By way of Hamburg they arrived at London Sept. 2d, embarked on the 17th at Gravesend, and after an unusually short voyage landed at Philadelphia Dec. 1st. Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh (Dec. 17th) held a consultation at Philadelphia, and on Jan. 15, 1752, conferred with the two brethren at Providence on the future sphere of labor to be allotted to them. It was resolved that Heintzelmann should assist Brunnholtz, who, in his continually and rapidly-augmenting congregation at Philadelphia and with his increasing infirmities, needed help. At once entering upon this field of labor, Heintzelmann, with the parochial teacher Naumann, was engaged every day a number of hours in teaching the youth of the congregation—an office in which he was quite successful

and gave special satisfaction to Mühlenberg, who never ceased to keep a watchful eye on the schools and the religious instruction of the children of the Church. In 1753, Heintzelmann, whose preaching and other services were well appreciated by the congregation, was elected its second pastor. In November, 1754, he married Ann Eve, sister of Mrs. Mühlenberg, and died, after a short but useful career, Feb. 9, 1756. Twenty-four hours after his death a son was born, to whom in holy baptism the name Israel was given, in honor of Provost Acrelius, one of the sponsors. As his mother after some time entered into matrimony with a Roman Catholic, the son, in accordance with the well-known convictions of his father, was placed for a time under the care of Henry Keppele, one of his guardians, a merchant in Philadelphia. To escape the undesirable influence of his stepfather, the youth in 1773 was sent to Georgia, where he found a patron in Adam Treutlen, magistrate and merchant in Ebenezer, in whose service he was. There was a prospect of marriage between a daughter of that gentleman and young Heintzelmann, but after having been there not quite a year the young man was thrown from a spirited horse which he was breaking, and died, in consequence of the fall, on the following day.

Frederick Schultz, born at Koenigsberg, Prussia, received his education partly in his native city, partly at the University of Halle, paying, as it appears, attention both to theology and to medical science. At Halle he had also for some time a position as teacher in the Orphan-House. Already in 1750 he declared himself willing to follow a call to the Pennsylvania field of labor. After his arrival here he was stationed at New Hanover as the assistant to Mühlenberg, preached every other week at New Goshenhoppen, was present at the synodical meeting held at Germantown Oct. 2, 1752, moved, with the permission of synod, to New Goshenhoppen, and in the following years served also at Indianfield, where, in 1753, he began the church record. It seems that as late as 1758 he served in Old Goshenhoppen after Raus's removal to York,

Pa., but after 1758 his name disappears from the clerical list of synod. He married in 1754, engaged also in farming and the practice of medicine, was inclined to alchemistic practices, paid dearly for making experiments to discover the "Philosopher's Stone," was for a time in the congregations on the Raritan, applied about 1764 to Weygand at New York for a situation as parochial teacher, and served from 1772–82 the Lutheran congregation at Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, and for a few months during 1784 the one at Shelburne in the same province. The report that he died as late as 1809 needs historical confirmation. It appears that, of all the missionaries sent from Halle in the times of Mühlenberg, he was the least successful—a fact with which harmonized a remark of Dr. Francke in a confidential letter to Mühlenberg, that he had had misgivings about Schultz before his call to America.

The presence of Schultz in New Hanover in 1752, together with his willingness to take care of the whole pastoral charge of Mühlenberg, proved a blessing to the Dutch congregation at New York. Mühlenberg had finished the course of instruction of the catechumens in his parish, had held confirmation, and had celebrated the Lord's Supper, and now thought it proper again to spend a season of three months with the New York and Hackensack Lutherans, who were anxiously waiting for his return. His family, much distressed about another proposed and protracted absence, remained at Providence. He left them and other friends May 4th, came by way of Germantown (where Handschuh was settled) to Philadelphia, embarked here on the 6th, found on board of the vessel a number of blasphemous, disgusting companions, but learned "that a Christian can preserve and enjoy peace of soul and the comforts of the Holy Spirit even in the midst of a set of devils," and on May 9th arrived at New York, again taking his lodgings in the parsonage. The news of his arrival produced much joy among the friends at New York and Hackensack, as the many visitors who came to greet the long-desired stranger clearly indicated. Some thought that now he would make his home permanently with them, and were

sadly disappointed when in his first sermon (May 10th) he informed them that he had left his congregation in Pennsylvania only to visit them for a time. Having preached in the morning in Dutch, in the afternoon in German, he was toward evening called away to see the same Mr. Van Buskirk whom he had visited the preceding year, and who was still a sufferer and growing weaker and weaker. On Monday, Mühlenberg held services with the sick friend and his family, and with members of the Lutheran Church and others living in that neighborhood. In the afternoon the only son of the family brought Mühlenberg back to New York. As he was more than thirty years of age, had crossed the sea, and had not yet been received by the rite of confirmation into Lutheran church-membership, he was the object of Mühlenberg's solicitude and admonition.

And now during the three months of May, June, and July, to Aug. 3d, Mühlenberg again devoted his time and his strength to the Dutch Lutheran congregations at New York and Hackensack, and infused new vitality into those flocks, a long time neglected and dispersed, but once more animated by new energy and hope. He pursued the course he had taken the preceding year. The question of uniting the Dutch and the German congregations was no longer agitated. It was brought up again at a later period, and finally, in 1785, the two congregations were united under the auspices of Mühlenberg's son-in-law, the Rev. John Christopher Kunze, D. D., who in 1784 was called to New York by numbers of both congregations.

Mühlenberg again found it necessary to preach in the New York church in Dutch, in German, and in English. To facilitate the singing, he allowed each party to use its own hymn-book. The natives of Holland could not always find hymns and melodies adapted to the hymns which the Germans sang, following the Marburg hymn-book. Of one German hymn Mühlenberg made a translation into Dutch, which was very welcome to the members; he gave it to them in his translation line after line. He announced one Sunday (June

1st) that on the following Sunday he would begin to catechise also the adult membership—an exercise to which we formerly alluded, and one which was not at all uncommon in those days and is to be commended for various reasons. This caused the oldest member of the congregation—a man nearly eighty years of age—to come to the pastor, and, while confessing his embarrassment, to declare that in his old days he could no longer publicly repeat the Catechism and was afraid the young people might laugh at his mistakes. Mühlenberg, while reminding him of the fact that even the learned and great Dr. Luther had never been without his Catechism, and in advanced years daily studied and repeated it, comforted the old brother and told him that if he were in a condition of grace and a new life he might answer from his personal experience. The following Sunday, after the afternoon sermon, Mühlenberg began the promised catechization, and promiscuously asked old and young with a view to remove their bashfulness. He had also a class of catechumens, who on Saturday, Aug. 1st, were examined and confirmed, and on the following day admitted to the Lord's Supper. It may be worth while here to introduce an item which may seem in itself to be of little importance, but is indicative of the impression Mühlenberg was enabled to make upon persons apparently having no share in his sympathies. He had preached (July 28th) on Gal. vi. 14. A female slave of good report belonging to a widow, a member of the congregation, and in the habit of regularly attending the Dutch and English services, brought Mühlenberg his dinner to his lodgings. He kindly presented her a trifling gift of money, but could not move her to accept it. Having heard that he was soon going to leave, she began to cry vehemently and thanked him for the benefit she had derived from his preaching and teaching. Mühlenberg, who certainly had passed through many similar scenes, says that "this poor worm indeed did break his heart." The sympathy which he felt for the colored race is also brought to light by the fact that when, in 1745 (Oct. 6th), the Augustus Church at Providence was dedicated, three negroes, slaves of a Mr.

Pawling, were on that solemn occasion publicly examined as to their knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and then baptized. Mühlenberg had taken the trouble properly to prepare them for this rite by the necessary instruction.

During his sojourn at New York in 1752, Mühlenberg paid three visits to the Hackensack congregation, and continued there the good work begun the year before. May 21st–28th, June 16th–23d, July 17th–23d, he spent there with the Lutherans, who by his repeated visits were greatly refreshed and encouraged. He lodged at the house of a member of the congregation, Lawrence van Buskirk. There he began (May 25th) his instructions to a class of catechumens. He preferred to do this service—at least, in the beginning—in a private room, knowing that the young people were still ignorant and bashful, and no less than the older ones averse to being exposed to criticism before the public. He states that he did not find them advanced enough in their knowledge of the truths of Christianity when he administered the Lord's Supper (June 21st) to the congregation; he consequently delayed their confirmation until some future occasion. He confirmed, however, after proper examination, one man advanced in age who had given sufficient evidence of his acquaintance with Christian truth, and it would have been improper not to admit him on this occasion—the first time—to the holy sacrament.

There was at Hackensack, as we found in the preceding year and during the first visit of Mühlenberg, a Reformed pastor who, touched by the religious excitement of those times under the leadership of Whitefield, had caused a spiritual awakening among many members of his congregation, while his elder colleague did not join in the spirit and the measures of his younger brother. It was the age in which Methodism and its methods had begun to exert an influence throughout the land and considerably to agitate the minds of religious people. In the Presbyterian Church in New York, in New Jersey, and in Pennsylvania it produced a

great commotion and caused a division which lasted for many years. It very much disturbed the Episcopal Church in various localities, especially in the city of Philadelphia. There were many discussions occasioned, and party lines were drawn between the conservatives and the revivalists, who were aggressors. That there was need of a spiritual awakening in many places can hardly be denied. Whitefield and Methodism had in America a mission to fulfil as certainly as had Ph. J. Spener and Pietism in Germany. But, while there was on each side much that could be commended, there was also much that was not gold, but dross. Deadness and formalism are certainly undesirable representatives of Christianity, but a religion with no better foundation than the transient and more or less artificial excitement of the feelings becomes a contemptible failure in the daily trials, labors, and conflicts of our moral and social life. A truly godly life can proceed only from a sound equipoise of all the vital forces which constitute man's higher nature. It appears that the zeal of the younger pastor of the Reformed people at Hackensack had led him to encourage measures which seriously affected the peace and the harmony of the congregation. "He had," Mühlenberg narrates, "advised those who were spiritually awakened to meet among themselves from week to week and to hold devotional exercises. His intentions were undoubtedly good, but, as he did not regularly attend, various disorders crept in. They attempted at every meeting to interpret and apply a chapter of the Bible, which was beyond their ability; they used, in praying, terms of an offensive character, set up a false standard of regeneration, and looked for extraordinary or supernatural things. One of the consequences of such assumptions was a hasty judgment and condemnation of those who did not experience the same state of feelings. In the end the Reformed congregation was divided, bitter enmities arose between the members, and sins were committed on each side. Those who thought themselves in a state of grace considered all those who did not belong to their circle

publicans and sinners, and the elder pastor a dead literalist, while they were called by the old conservative party Pharisees, enthusiasts, etc. Our people held their peace during this turmoil, though some became so entangled as to give assent to one or the other party. Those awakened had claimed my authority in their favor, and said they wished to hear my opinion; the other party also were curious to learn what I would say. Wherever I went the talk was about these measures and exercises, and my opinion was asked. I answered that, according to the word of God, services held for the increase of godliness were necessary and useful, provided they were conducted in the presence of experienced teachers and pastors, for the honor of God, the best interests of the Church, the advantage of our fellow-men, and the edification of awakened souls."

June 24th, Hartwig, ever ready to travel, came to see Mühlenberg, who then was indisposed, and while (Friday, June 26th) seeking relief by bleeding himself was interrupted by another sudden visitor and forgot to stop in proper time the flow of blood. In consequence of this accident he was so much reduced that he could hardly deliver one sermon on Sunday, June 28th, in the forenoon. The elders of the congregation this time raised no objections to Hartwig's preaching German in the afternoon and English in the evening. Berkenmeier had died in the fall of 1751.

Early in the morning of Tuesday, July 28th, another visitor, Rev. Michael Schlatter, whom we have met before, and who to some extent held the same relation to the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvana as Mühlenberg held to the German Lutheran Church, pleasantly surprised his friend Mühlenberg. Schlatter, born of pious parents July 14, 1716, at St. Gallen in Switzerland, received his education partly in the scholastic institution of his native place, partly at the University of Helmstedt in the duchy of Brunswick, where he sojourned for a short time, partly in Holland, where he was also employed as a teacher and finally received holy orders. For a short time he served (1745–46) as assistant

pastor at Wigoldingen, Canton Thurgau, in Switzerland, then in a suburb of his native place, but, being of a roving disposition (which word we here use in the best sense), he again came to Holland in 1746. Learning of the spiritually destitute condition of the members of his household of faith, of whom many successive thousands had emigrated from Switzerland and Germany to America, and especially to Pennsylvania—moved, also, by the active sympathy which was felt for those emigrants among the congregations of Holland, and furnished by the ecclesiastical authorities with testimonials and instructions—he embarked June 1, 1746, landed Aug. 1st at Boston, and Sept. 6th reached Philadelphia, at that time a town of about ten thousand inhabitants. The old frame building in which, before the erection of St. Michael's Church, Lutherans and Reformed alternately worshipped is already known to us. Rev. J. Ph. Boehm presided at that time over the Reformed congregation. With his consent, Schlatter (Sept. 16, 1746) united the Reformed congregations at Philadelphia and at Germantown into one charge. Oct. 11, 1747, he married a daughter of Henry Schleydorn, well known to us as a faithful and active member of the German Lutheran congregation and as a warm friend of Mühlenberg. This may have given occasion to a more intimate acquaintance between the two representatives of the two confessions of faith. Schlatter was an open-hearted, honest, straightforward man—qualities which gained him the respect of Mühlenberg—but he was more an agitator than an organizer, and his zeal sometimes lacked judgment and involved him, at various periods of his life, in considerable difficulties. During the summer of 1747 and in the following years he visited many localities in Pennsylvania and encouraged congregations and pastors to form a synod, the first meeting of which was held Sept. 29, 1747, at Philadelphia. After a most sad experience in his pastoral life at Philadelphia, furnished by his own ministry and by ministers of the Presbyterian Church with excellent testimonials as to his character, he embarked Feb. 5, 1751, for Europe to lay the condition of

the Reformed Church and congregations before the authorities of the Reformed Church of Holland, and to implore their sympathy and assistance. Having been quite successful in this, in the following year he returned to America, and, hearing of Mühlenberg's presence at New York, where he landed, he on that 28th of July at once went to see him. With him had come six missionaries intended for the destitute congregations of the Reformed faith. Introduced to them, Mühlenberg greeted them with the words, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep into the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves." About his first acquaintance with Mühlenberg, Schlatter says in his diary: "On the 15th of Oct. [1746], having humbly sought the guidance and blessing of God to prosper me on my way, I travelled from Philadelphia to Providence—a distance of thirty miles—and visited the Rev. H. M. Mühlenberg, the first Lutheran preacher in this country, who in the year 1742 was sent hither by the Very Rev. Court-Preacher Ziegenhagen of London on nearly the same footing with myself, and for the same object. I found it expedient to seek an understanding as to how it was necessary for me to act toward them in reference to the frequent intermarriages of these two denominations in these regions. His Reverence received us with all possible affection and brotherly kindness, commended himself and his brethren to our friendship, and desired that we might dwell together in neighborly unity and peace; which fellowship also has been preserved sacred and inviolate during the whole time I have been in Pennsylvania." On various occasions Schlatter expresses the high esteem in which he at all times held Mühlenberg. His public life caused him many severe trials and afflictions. His relation to the synod of the Reformed Church becoming disturbed in 1756, in 1757 he accepted a chaplaincy in the British army in the American provinces. Ceasing to perform the duties of this office two years later, he resided with his family through many years at Chestnut Hill, near Philadelphia, on a farm called by him Sweetland. At the same time he served congregations at

Barren Hill, Franklinville, and other neighboring localities. At the beginning of the War of Independence he again acted as chaplain of the British army, but in a short time espoused the American cause, and in September, 1777, when the British invaded Germantown, disobeying orders, he was at once imprisoned and his house was ransacked. Returning, after his release, to the country, he lived in a small house not far distant from his former residence. There he died, it is reported, in the latter part of October, 1790, at the age of seventy-four years and three months.

Mühlenberg knew that in case of his return to Pennsylvania the progress and the very existence of the congregations which he served at New York and Hackensack would be put in jeopardy. When he held (June 11th) a vestry-meeting at his lodgings in the parsonage at New York, the elders and deacons entreated him not to forsake them. They begged him to stay with them—at least until an answer would come from the Fathers and the question whether he could not permanently locate in their midst would finally be decided. They then did not know that the Fathers did not look with favor upon their petition. They insisted upon it that in case Mühlenberg left them some other of the Pennsylvania pastors should continue his work among them. Mühlenberg corresponded, therefore, with his colaborers in Pennsylvania. For a time Schrenk and Raus were intended as his successors, but both refused to undertake the work. Finally, a call was given to Weygand, at that time serving the Raritan congregations. He began his labors at New York in the spring of 1753, and continued them until 1767.

In 1751 six months were granted by synod to Mühlenberg to absent himself from Pennsylvania and to serve the Lutheran cause at New York. During 1751 and 1752 he had made the best use of that permission, and the time for his return to the ordinary field of his labors was at hand. His farewell to the congregations and the friends at Hackensack and New York was very painful, and called forth many a tear from those who had been benefited by his services, who had learned

to esteem and to love him as a Christian friend, and who for ever kept him in loving remembrance. His labors in that field had indeed come to an end, and, while always taking a deep interest in the progress of the Lutheran Church in those parts, he never reappeared in New York in an official capacity. Aug. 3d he departed. On that day the whole vestry, many members of the two congregations, and other friends came once more to see him. Hartwig also did not allow this occasion to pass without making his appearance.

After a dangerous and very disagreeable voyage, because of wicked and disgusting company which could not be avoided, Mühlenberg arrived at Philadelphia (Aug. 6th). Having again entered upon his labors in his congregations, he continued his pastoral work with unabated fervor and energy. He tells us that from the New Year of 1751 to the New Year of 1755 he baptized, in the congregations of Providence and New Hanover, three hundred and ninety-one persons, twenty-five of whom were adults, who before being baptized had made public profession of the Christian faith; also that during the same period one hundred and forty-eight persons had received catechetical instruction and been received into membership of the Church by the rite of confirmation.

But those years proved to be years of great tribulation to Mühlenberg and to his brethren. A good work had been begun. "It had, under divine blessing, been successfully carried forward. The synod had been organized and yearly meetings were held. Congregations had been properly organized, and already in 1752 eight ordained pastors and two catechists were in active service. A happy influence was exercised over a field extending from the Maryland frontier to New York and the Upper Hudson. Regular services were held in a considerable number of congregations; in various places the children were gathered into parochial schools; churches, school-houses, parsonages, had been erected; and the Lutherans gave pleasing signs of a healthy and hopeful vitality."

But there were "breakers ahead," and the outlook became—at least, for a time—rather gloomy. The causes of this state of affairs, which brought much care and grief to the hearts of Mühlenberg and his colaborers, were in part of a general, in part of a local, character. During a number of years immigration from Germany had amazingly increased. More than seven thousand Germans arrived, as we formerly had occasion to state, in the fall of 1749; during the summer of that year, twelve thousand. Immigration continued on a large scale until the breaking out of the Seven Years' War. It was reported that in one autumn twelve parochial teachers arrived, hoping to find employment in church or in school. A number of pastors also came, offering their services to congregations, but not being desirous of joining the synod. There were, as we mentioned above, some years of great prosperity and an abundance of provisions; but the wheat—not used as bread, but distilled into whiskey—proved to many a curse instead of a blessing. Manners deteriorated among the masses of the people. Intemperance and sensual extravagance became rampant. Marriage celebrations especially gave occasion for terrible irregularities, and even funerals were often conducted in a most scandalous and offensive manner and changed into carousals. Many of the new-comers were excessively carnal-minded. In a letter of 1754, Mühlenberg says that Pennsylvania became surfeited with people of all sorts and from all lands. He continues: "It teems with a wicked, frivolous rabble and vagabond preachers and students, and the devil is raging and carrying on his slanders and calumnies against the poor Hallenses."

CHAPTER XIX.

1752 et seq. (*continued*).

Difficulties arising.—Pietism in conflict with carnal-mindedness.—Handschuh's unfortunate marriage at Lancaster.—He enters upon his new field of labor at Germantown.—Impediments in his way.—Disturbances in the congregation.—Rebellion against Handschuh and synod.—He retires with a small number of the faithful.—The congregation cut loose from synod.—They are assisted by Tob. Wagner.—Danger of the spread of the rebellion.—Disturbances at York.—J. Sam. Schwerdfeger.—J. H. Schaum leaves York; his further career and death.—Rev. J. S. Gerock of Würtemberg accepted by the Lancaster congregation; his further career.—Rev. B. M. Hausihl.—Mühlenberg again visits Frederick, Md.—Rev. J. F. Schertlin.—Mühlenberg pays another visit to New York.—Transient difficulties in the Raritan congregations.—Mühlenberg restores peace and greatly encourages them by repeated visits.—William Kurtz.—William Graaf.—Jacob van Buskirk.—Mühlenberg at Hackensack and Remmerspach.

WE can easily understand that the pastors, coming from the school of Halle, were disliked by that large class of people who externally, perhaps, were members of the Church and the congregation, but retained their worldly-mindedness and their religious indifference. For such the path, as those pastors delineated it for the benefit of Christians and as it is pointed out in the word of God, was entirely too narrow. The intruders into the pastoral office accommodated themselves without any compunction to the carnal lusts of the people, and, as a consequence, godly, faithful laborers in that difficult field met with abundant odium. In a letter of Aug. 14, 1753, addressed to Ziegenhagen in London, Mühlenberg says: "As there are now in Pennsylvania so many who expect to be called to pastoral charges and find their bread, as even in our united congregations there are so many disaffected to whom the preaching of repentance, faith, godliness is vexatious and disgusting, and as there are members of congregations and self-appointed pastors with whom we do

not associate outside of our united congregations,—it can easily be seen what a formidable and abnormal constellation must exist under such circumstances. At the present time old and young self-appointed pastors, offended keepers of inns and groceries, silversmiths and beerhouse fiddlers, dancing-masters, entire companies of recently-arrived Nethinim (1 Chron. ix. 2), and the insane rabble of Sichem (Sirach l. 28), gather together, throw dust into the air, and raise, with their cursing and blaspheming, such a confusion that the town-clerk himself might be perplexed (Acts xix. 23–40). The sum and substance amounts to this: we are called Halle Pietists, Moravian rogues, impostors, thieves of collection-moneys, etc. etc. The German newspapers supplement the deficiencies of this fermentation. The civil authorities in this free latitude cannot take any steps in our behalf unless there should be gross acts of violence and personal injury; lawyers look upon us with contempt, since we have no money to engage their services." We might quote from Mühlenberg stronger expressions of a similar character, but these are sufficient. In these remarks he had in view especially one extremely sad experience, which now claims our attention.

It will be remembered that soon after his arrival in this country Rev. J. Fr. Handschuh began his labors at Lancaster. His ministry, as it appears, was for some time quite acceptable to the congregation, which had gone through a hard struggle in consequence of Nyberg's Moravian intrigues. Handschuh lived for a time as a bachelor in quiet retirement, lacking, however, in his weak and sickly condition, that attention which as a married man he would have enjoyed. He finally took to his house as a servant the daughter of one of the deacons of his congregation. With this step, as it appears, nobody found fault; but trouble began when, after some time, Handschuh told his servant that it seemed to him to be God's will that he should marry her, and she, after some hours of deliberation, arrived at the same conclusion. Nothing could justly be said against the moral character of the young woman, but that she, who had formerly kept a cake-stand in

the public market at Lancaster, as was known to the whole town, and whose education and social position were certainly not of a high order, should now be called "Frau Pastor,"— this was more than the ruling portion of the congregation could tolerate: such a marriage seemed to be derogatory to the dignity of the pastor and to the social demands of his office. As was to be expected, much unfriendly and wholly unwarranted talk ensued among the frivolous outsiders. The union between Handschuh and his espoused caused a rupture between him and the congregation. Mühlenberg at once foresaw this when he heard of Handschuh's intentions. His knowledge of the world made him fear the consequences. Being invited, however, to participate in the marriage solemnities, he, Brunnholtz, and Kurtz repaired in proper time to Lancaster. On May 1, 1750, the ceremony took place. Brunnholtz in vain made endeavors, before Mühlenberg's arrival, to pacify the congregation. Most of the vestrymen felt very indignant, and would not change their opinions. When, on the wedding-day, the pastors, with Handschuh and the bride, went to the church, not one of all the dissatisfied party was visible, and Mühlenberg, in his description of the transaction, quotes from 2 Sam. xix. 3: "And the people got them by stealth that day into the city, as people being ashamed steal away when they flee in battle." Under such circumstances the joy of the day was considerably chilled. The greater evil was the disrespect into which Handschuh fell among the members of his own congregation. Older and socially-prominent persons came rarely to the public services, and it became apparent that in this locality another pastor was needed. Handschuh bade farewell to Lancaster on the fourth Sunday after Easter, 1751, and soon after Whitsunday began his services in the congregation at Germantown, which up to that time, with Philadelphia, had been under the care of Brunnholtz, for whom, on account of his impaired health, the labor in both these congregations had by degrees become too heavy, especially since the Philadelphia membership was rapidly increasing.

In Germantown an enlargement of the church-building was in 1746 found necessary. Thirty feet were added to the length, six to the width, of the structure. The corner-stone was laid April 15, 1746. Pews were placed in the building, and a sacristy was added in 1750. In 1752 a parsonage was bought. The church, as we have already learned, was solemnly dedicated Oct. 1, 1752. The congregation, in consequence of the increase of German immigration, gained in numerical strength, but in other respects the increase was entirely disadvantageous. In addition to the contributions of the members necessary for building expenses, material assistance came from Germany. A donation of three hundred florins was sent by the ecclesiastical authorities of the duchy of Würtemberg, and one hundred and seven pounds came from Hesse-Darmstadt, one-half of which was given to Germantown, the other half to the Philadelphia congregation, which also was heavily in debt. Concerning the inner condition of the Germantown congregation Brunnholtz says, in a letter dated May 21, 1750, that, on account of discord prevailing in the vestry, he had had more trouble with Germantown than with Philadelphia. His general remarks about the increase of indolence, insubordination, carnal security, covetousness, drunkenness, and all sorts of vices everywhere at that time applied also to Germantown.

Under such circumstances Handschuh entered upon his labors in that field. In Lancaster he had made efforts to introduce strict measures of church discipline. His sincerity we cannot for a moment doubt, but of his judiciousness we are not so sure. We call it a measure of doubtful wisdom that he expected every member to report to him any serious offence he or she might discover in the conduct of another. He judged others by his own personal very Pietistic standard. His scrupulosity was not calculated to make much impression upon people of low education and totally different sentiments, feelings, and habits. But his character and his conduct were above reproach.

Even before the synod met in 1752 at Germantown an

agitation began in an underhanded way to distract the congregation. A very trifling circumstance a short time afterward caused a most unfortunate disturbance. An alms-bag to which small bells were attached was habitually used during public services to collect the charitable gifts. An elder who had been ridiculed on account of the bells by a member of one of the many Pennsylvania sects innocently took it upon himself to cut off those bells: this the irritated and discontented interpreted as an undue liberty on the part of a vestryman. Unfortunately, the spirit of contention broke out also among the church-officers, and it was soon apparent that there was a strong party in favor of a radical change in the government of the congregation. By the leaders of this party Handschuh was requested during public services to read a document in which the vestry were calumniated, and even accused of gross misdeeds. Handschuh refused to comply with the request—a refusal which, though perfectly correct, could only make matters worse. One of the elders who in that document had been accused of theft began a lawsuit against his calumniators. The agitators wanted to oust the vestry then in office, but some of its members, on account of the rebuilding of the church and the debts incurred thereby, were personally responsible for the payment and under legal bonds to the amount of four hundred pounds.

In January, 1753, by request, Mühlenberg was present with Brunnholtz and Handschuh at Germantown when the yearly account was presented to the congregation, on which occasion a sharp altercation again took place between the representatives of the two parties. At the request of the conservative elders and deacons Handschuh had framed certain articles to be subscribed by all the members of the congregation for the promotion of peace and harmony. Mühlenberg says that he had found no time properly to make himself acquainted with these articles. "In fact," he says, "we were not wise enough to frame articles which in that critical period would have been accepted without protest." About eighteen members subscribed Handschuh's articles; the others protested.

Those members who had subscribed demanded that they should be publicly read on the following Sunday, and this was done. But the opposing party at once protested against two points—viz. that Mühlenberg and the pastors united with him be acknowledged as the legitimately-called pastors, and that to pastors not in that union the church should be closed, and that the members and their descendants for ever should acknowledge the very reverend Fathers at London and Halle as their superiors and benefactors. Mühlenberg afterward told Handschuh that he felt that the terms here used were stronger than those demanded by the Fathers themselves. The opposite party now framed another document, the style of which proved that men more learned than they had employed their hands in making it. It had been circulated in taverns and in private dwellings, and was covered with a large number of signatures. The reading of this document during service, which the party demanded, Handschuh refused, because it contained offensive terms against the Halle pastors and the elders, but a Philadelphia swaggerer took it upon himself to recite it before the congregation. Handschuh implored the assembly to exercise some forbearance, and at the same time appointed a day for conference. In consequence of his entreaties, Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz were present with him and Schleydorn at this conference. Handschuh was deeply distressed, as was Mühlenberg also, who, being appointed to preach at Germantown Sunday, Feb. 11th, was likewise greatly embarrassed. A large crowd assembled—among them, some dissatisfied members of the Philadelphia congregation. It was rumored that a tumultuous disturbance would occur. Before Mühlenberg ascended the pulpit the leaders of the opposition demanded of him the reading of their document; which demand he refused, but said mistakes had been made on each side, and that both parties had better reconsider their articles. After preaching and singing, the above-mentioned Philadelphian, Jacob Baierle, arose in the gallery and began to recite the document. Schleydorn, who at once protested against the reading, was silenced in the roughest manner. Mühlen-

berg had invited both parties to meet at the parsonage on the following day. The opponents, boasting of their one hundred and thirty signatures, wanted the whole difficulty settled on that Sunday afternoon, but were left alone. Their delegates, inquiring at the parsonage as to what the other party had to propose, were informed that the accusations formulated in that document against the Halle pastors, and including heresy, were of such a character that the difficulty must be settled at another place. Handschuh and his friends each contributed a trifling sum of money to pay for an application to the king's agent for his opinion. Mühlenberg was, however, on second thought, moved to desist from this plan. He knew that the conservative party could not raise the funds for a lawsuit; he also felt that it would be better to trust in God than in men. He saw that the opposing party intended to disconnect themselves entirely from the united pastors and have free possession of the church, or to leave the church, with all the debts resting on it, in the hands of the other party, which was decidedly in the minority. To this the friends of Handschuh were willing to consent, provided the pastors and the Fathers in Europe would become security for a debt of four hundred pounds and provide for the pastor's salary. This the pastors could not undertake, much less the small, well-disposed flock clinging to Handschuh. The heads of the revolutionary party hinted that they would begin the same agitation in all the other synodically-united congregations, and first at Philadelphia. Mühlenberg saw that Handschuh could no longer continue his labors under the former conditions, and that the opponents, who had an overwhelming majority on their side, wanted to have no connection any longer with the Halle pastors. He says that he and his brethren, Brunnholtz and Handschuh, were in great tribulation.

Monday, Feb. 12th, the heads of the revolutionists met at the parsonage with the pastors and Messrs. Schleydorn and Fred. Marsteller. They boldly declared that they would have nothing further to do with the missionaries from Halle. The pas-

tors reminded them that they were not intruders, but had come in consequence of repeated entreaties, and declared themselves willing to depart, provided that the regular call handed in 1743 to Mühlenberg by the congregation at Germantown was returned to him, and that satisfactory testimonials concerning his and his brethren's official conduct were granted. To this their opponents at once consented. Some added that Handschuh might quit his office that very week; others said that he might remain pastor, provided he would no longer have intercourse with the other Halle pastors, but be ruled by the party now dominant. The adherents of Handschuh, when informed of this compact, were dissatisfied, but were obliged to learn that things never would have taken this distressing turn if they had formerly given their signatures to articles of church-discipline, as the pastor had frequently requested. The officers of the conservative party now offered their resignation, on condition of being released from all financial obligation. This proposition was accepted, and a formal settlement in the presence of a justice of the peace was consummated. Handschuh also now handed in a formal resignation, after having received testimonials indorsing his personal character. Before all was settled Brunnholtz was accused by one of the opponents, Matthias Gaensel, of having appropriated for the benefit of the Philadelphia congregation three hundred florins of the donation from Würtemberg, the remittance, according to the accuser, having consisted of six hundred florins. There was, of course, no difficulty in procuring from Germany the official documents, properly attested, which proved the untruth of the accusation. The calumniator escaped a severe judgment of the court only through the Christian clemency of Brunnholtz, whom he had greatly wronged. About twelve years later the turbulent Jacob Baierle was obliged to thank Mühlenberg for a position which gave him support. The party whose general character was represented by those men were now masters of the situation, and called the contemptible Andreæ, and after him Rapp, who for a short time had served the German con-

gregation at New York, as pastors. Tobias Wagner, however, had, after Handschuh's resignation, held the first services in the old church, and on several occasions celebrated with those people the Lord's Supper, thereby lowering his character and showing a deep-seated bitterness against Mühlenberg and his associates. His efforts to move the radicals with whom he associated to petition the church-authorities of Würtemberg to send a pastor for Germantown were in vain. His attempt, also, to create a disturbance in the Philadelphia congregation did not succeed.

On the very evening of the formal separation of the two parties at Germantown the conservatives, finding that Handschuh did not intend to forsake them, rented a house not far from the church, and soon afterward adapted it for public services. On the following Sunday, Mühlenberg preached in it to an audience of about one hundred. There was sufficient room in it for Handschuh's family. On week-days he served also as parochial teacher. There is no doubt that as pastor and teacher he performed a good work, but his flock was very small and he had to live on a most scanty allowance. Let it be here mentioned in praise of a Reformed pastor at that time serving in South Carolina (Rev. Joachim Zübly) that he not only sent Handschuh, of whose circumstances he had heard, some financial assistance, but moved some friends to send to his needy family several barrels of rice, while his name was not mentioned in this transaction.

There is no doubt that the leaders of the revolt in Germantown and their Philadelphia associates made secret efforts to occasion similar disturbances in other congregations. They to some extent succeeded at York, where a number of members of the congregation under the care of Schaum, who was physically weak, but faithful in his services, separated, and called, in 1754, John Samuel Schwerdfeger—who had but recently landed in Maryland, and whose passage-money they had to pay—to serve them as pastor. The larger portion of the congregation were at that time not willing to part with Schaum, who, however, in 1755 accepted a call to Tohicon

and neighboring churches, married again in August, 1758, his first wife having died in 1752, moved the following year to New Hanover, served congregations at Oley, Pikeland, and Lower Dublin, for a time preached every fourth Sunday at Providence, and lived from 1763 at Weitendahl (Whitehall, Lehigh county), Pa. Finally he was called to Mosellem church, and there died Jan. 26, 1778.

When Handschuh had left Lancaster the congregation there was advised by Wagner to request the consistory of the Evangelical Church of Würtemberg to send a pastor. Meanwhile, Wagner occasionally served them, and also a vagabond student, J. Theoph. Engelland of Würtemberg, and after him H. B. G. Wordmann, formerly pastor in the neighborhood of Hamburg, a man of the roughest, most indomitable temper, who, after being paid off with forty pounds by the congregation, quitted Lancaster for a time, served the young congregation at Reading, and in 1757 began pastoral labors in Charleston, S. C., but was nowhere successful for any long period. In March, 1753, the pastor sent by the Church authorities of Würtemberg, and furnished with excellent credentials, the Rev. John Siegfried Gerock, arrived. He had crossed the Atlantic in company with the Rev. Christian Rabenhorst, a missionary of Halle, intended as pastor of the Ebenezer congregation in Georgia, and who was not altogether pleased with Gerock's conduct. Gerock had landed at Savannah, and then by the way of Charleston reached Philadelphia just at the time of the outbreak of the revolutionary agitation in the Germantown congregation. He had various meetings with Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh, but was also influenced by the leaders of the revolutionary party, who even on March 16th announced in the German newspaper that on the following Sunday Gerock would preach in the Germantown church. He preached neither there nor in St. Michael's at Philadelphia, but went with his wife to Lancaster (March 17th). As a stranger he prudently avoided committing himself on the side of either of the contending parties in the Germantown turmoil. Subse-

quently he joined the synod, but was never in an intimate relation with the Halle pastors. As a preacher he had no eminent success, but attracted to himself in Lancaster during fourteen years of pastoral services a considerable number of personal friends. Already in 1762 he was moved to pay a visit to the German Lutheran congregation at New York. When, in 1767, the congregation had finished their new and spacious house of worship called Christ Church, he accepted a call given him, and stayed in his new field of labor until 1773. Soon after his arrival at New York he found himself involved in very unpleasant public controversies with Weygand, at that time still pastor of the old Dutch church; and it appears that his position at New York was far from giving him satisfaction for any length of time. In 1772, furnished with a recommendation from Mühlenberg, he had visited the Bedminster congregation on the Raritan, but had received, however, no call. The Germantown congregation also, which from 1763 was again united with the synod (Ps. cxxv. 3), found him not acceptable. In 1773 he received a call to the German Lutheran congregation at Baltimore, Md., and ten years later was visited there by the Rev. J. Chr. Kunze, D. D., of Philadelphia, under whom, in the following year, the two Lutheran congregations of New York were happily united. Gerock died at Baltimore in 1787, and was succeeded in the service of his congregation by the Rev. John Daniel Kurtz, son of J. Nic. Kurtz.

Toward the end of 1752, or at the beginning of 1753, Mühlenberg and his colaborers received letters and testimonials from the Rev. Berh. Mich. Hausihl, at that time serving at least a portion of the Lutheran congregation at Fredericktown, Md. In these letters he expresses his desire to be taken into the brotherhood and to become a member of synod. He also complains of the intruder Streiter, of whom we have formerly heard, and who, after having served as pastor in Eastern Pennsylvania without ever having been lawfully ordained, had for two years palmed himself upon the Fredericktown charge, and, being unable fully to establish his cler-

ical character, was acknowledged only by a portion of the congregation. We know that in 1747, while on a missionary tour, Muhlenberg had visited that locality and established the Lutherans on a confessional and constitutional basis. In 1749 we find there Valentin Kraft, who, though attending to some clerical duties, was never elected the regular pastor, and who in 1751 died there in extreme poverty. In agreement with the resolution of synod, Schaum visited Fredericktown during 1751 and 1752. In the latter year Hausihl had come to this country. The son of a public teacher, he was born in 1727 at Heilbronn, then a free imperial city. In 1746 he was matriculated at the University of Strassburg as a theological student. As a candidate for missionary work in America he was ordained by the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam, and before embarking was married to Sybilla Margaretta Mayer, daughter of a highly-respected actuary public of the city of Ulm, who with his family also migrated to the English provinces of North America, and whose descendants are now among the prominent families of Maryland. On his arrival at Annapolis, Hausihl was probably directed to Fredericktown by Daniel Dulany, a landowner who in May, 1752, presented the Lutheran congregation with a lot on which to erect a church. The condition of this congregation was deplorable. Hausihl, a man of talent, energy, and culture, endeavored to establish congregational discipline, but in 1758 was induced to accept a call to Reading, where he served until 1763, after which for a short time he had charge of the congregations at Easton and the neighborhood. After visiting a brother, who also had emigrated in 1752, in South Carolina, he appeared in 1765 in Philadelphia, where we shall again meet him.

In consequence of the earnest petition of the Lutherans at Fredericktown, Mühlenberg visited them in December, 1758. We remember his former visit to this locality. In Maryland, as in Virginia, Church and State were to some extent united. The tax raised from all the inhabitants, irrespective of their religious persuasion, was used to sustain Anglican ministers

in the province. This appeared a harsh measure to German settlers, who were in no way benefited by the services of an exclusively English-speaking pastor. The German Lutherans, in addition to paying the tax, had, of course, to provide for their own pastor. They told Mühlenberg that dissensions and separations made it exceedingly difficult to elect and support a pastor with unanimity. They felt that a minister placed over them by a higher authority, provided he were a right-minded man, would prevent many evils. Their conviction that Mühlenberg was just such a man, and could serve not only them, but also the English population, and give satisfaction to all parties concerned, proves that they took a very practical view of the case. Of course Mühlenberg could not accede to the latter part of the proposition; as to the former, touching the laws of Maryland, he could only try to exercise some influence, which he was willing to do. The pastor of the Anglican congregation at Fredericktown having died shortly before, some of the elders requested Mühlenberg to preach in their church, which he did on Sunday morning. In the afternoon the German Reformed church was opened to him, the Lutherans not yet having one of their own. The following day some justices of the peace and other civil officers visited Mühlenberg and proposed to him that he should become their county pastor and preach in both languages, saying that the endowments of the office amounted to about six hundred pounds current, and that the county would probably be divided into two parishes, thus reducing the labors of the incumbent. Plausible as these propositions were, Mühlenberg would not entertain them, but secured the promise of his visitors to intercede with the governor of the province for the removal of the grievances of his German brethren in the faith. He informs us that he made a hurried return from Fredericktown. Passing through Lancaster, he paid a visit to Gerock, but it seems that he did not tarry at York to see Raus, who had begun his pastoral work there in the spring of that year.

On this tour to Fredericktown, Mühlenberg was accompanied by one of his neighbors at Providence, Christian Freder-

ick Maertens (Martens, Martini), a surgeon, son-in-law of Rev. Jacob Frederick Schertlin, who, after having been a considerable number of years pastor of congregations in Würtemberg, in 1753, in advanced age, arrived in Pennsylvania, moved with his family to Macungie, bought land, built himself a house, became pastor of the Lutheran congregation there and of neighboring churches, was received into the ministry in 1754, like many others was obliged to flee for a time in 1763 on account of the barbarous attacks of the Indians, and Nov. 8, 1768, is mentioned by Mühlenberg as already deceased. When his daughter, with her husband, had settled in the neighborhood of Mühlenberg, his advice in various matters proved beneficial to them, and her father came to pay his respects to Mühlenberg, who in a letter of July 18, 1754, says: "Though Mr. Schertlin hated me without cause and avoided intercourse with me, I always loved him, because I was occasionally informed that he was diligent in preaching and catechising, and by the afflictions in Pennsylvania, which he could not escape, was made more humble and submissive to God's purposes." Again: "I was living in hope that there was growing, under a hard, choleric surface, by the influence of God's good Spirit, a good core, and therefore, with the consent of my brethren, invited him to be present at our last synodical meeting at New Hanover, where, June 16th and 17th, he met us and the Swedish provost Acrelius and thirteen united ministers and delegates from Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland, and was considerably astonished to observe that all things were transacted in a simple, open, edifying manner, without any imperiousness or strife of ambition." To this Schertlin subsequently testified in a letter sent to Mühlenberg.

Schertlin had expected to be elected successor of Tobias Wagner in the congregation at Reading, but his first sermon there was not calculated to secure him the favor of the people. He had made the "Pragmatic Sanction of Austria"—that compact giving Maria Theresa, the daughter of Emperor Charles VI., the right to inherit the imperial crown—the sub-

ject of his sermon. We do not know what religious sentiments or principles he connected with it, but we do know that to the Reading Lutherans that subject offered no attraction. For several years Wagner had served them. The town and the congregation were young, but growing. Mühlenberg had met Wagner there as early as March, 1751. Dissensions having arisen between Wagner and the congregation, Mühlenberg was requested by eighty-two members, who gave their signatures, to preach the first sermon in the new church-building, to which he consented, receiving special commission for this purpose from synod. Wagner, greatly incensed at this step, published a pamphlet against Mühlenberg, using bitter language and accusing him of heresy. Mühlenberg's entreaties with the congregation to recall Wagner, who had left that field of labor, were in vain. Neither would they address themselves, in accordance with a proposition by Mühlenberg, to the ecclesiastical authorities of Würtemberg to send them a suitable pastor, because none of the united pastors of Pennsylvania could be spared for them and Schertlin was not acceptable. They then called Wordmann from Lancaster. When, after a short time, he proved a failure, Hausihl was called, as has already been stated. In those years J. Conrad Weiser took a lively interest in the Reading congregation. The dedication of the new church moved him to compose in honor of that solemnity a piece of poetry which is preserved to us, and which indicates not only a fine poetical talent, but also the glowing fervor of religious feeling.

The New Jersey congregations on the Raritan continued to be a care to Mühlenberg. Their original names had gradually fallen into disuse, and even before 1760 we find them denominated Bedminister and New Germantown, to which may be added an outlying congregation called "In the Valley." Each of the first two had its own church, but all three still formed one charge. As early as 1759 the "In-the-Valley" congregation is mentioned under this name, at which time the Lutherans there were still connected with New Germantown.

We find that the troubles of the Germantown congregation

were talked about also in the Raritan churches, and there also, before the removal of Weygand to New York, had occasioned a transient disturbance. A document containing calumnies against the "united pastors" was read before the assembled congregation during the services on Good Friday, 1753. After proper investigation the two members of the vestry who had been the officious agents in this matter were excluded from the congregation. Mühlenberg, paying a visit there July 14th to 20th of that year, succeeded, by his preaching and personal intercourse with the members, in restoring good feeling and peace among those who had been quarrelling. The two vestrymen who had been particularly involved in the disturbance came forward after Mühlenberg's sermon on the fourth Sunday after Trinity (July 15th), offered him their hands, and, having given sufficient proof of their change of mind, were restored to church-membership. In the afternoon of that Sunday, Mühlenberg was requested to preach in the English language. Knowing that reports had been spread among the English that the Lutherans were secretly inclined to Romish doctrines, he not only preached on true repentance, living faith, and godliness, but elucidated also the doctrine of the sacraments; all of which was well received by his hearers. July 18th he preached in German and English "in a barn eight miles from the church," and on Thursday, June 19th, held a meeting with the officers and members of the congregations forming the charge, and succeeded in removing existing difficulties. They also were willing to accept of Schrenk as their pastor; he moved there in December, 1753. We already know that in consequence of great dissatisfaction caused by his perverse behavior he had left that charge in 1756.

In the summer or autumn of 1756, Mühlenberg paid a visit to New York in behalf of the old Dutch congregation, then served by Weygand, who at that time had not yet received a formal call. We have no information that Mühlenberg took occasion at this time also to visit the Raritan congregations, but we know that in 1757, after the departure of Schrenk at

the end of 1756, Mühlenberg, who considered those congregations as among his pastoral responsibilities, paid them two visits. He says that after Schrenk had left them, "in the midst of the winter 1757, a number of right-minded and trustworthy members came from there and entreated me, for God's sake, to help them once more, and not to allow their congregations and church to go to ruin. They moved me to have compassion on them. I was at that time in daily fears that Mr. Kurtz would have to flee from Tulpehoken before the savage enemies [the Indians]. I therefore promised those people that I would once more concern myself about them, and visit them in the spring of 1757. When this was made known on the Raritan, it caused much joy, and in the congregation 'in the mountains' the oldest members met without my knowledge, resolved to build a new church, and in a short time had subscribed for this purpose two hundred pounds. When the members of the Anglican church heard of this, they also by subscription raised two hundred pounds, on condition that the German Evangelical preacher would from time to time preach in the new church, to which our people hopefully assented. Accompanied by our parochial teacher, I set out in the spring on the tour to New Jersey. In consequence of the swollen rivers I was twice injured in body, but arrived alive on the Raritan, where I remained four weeks, while Mr. W. Kurtz, Jr. [he had arrived in 1754 from Halle, and under Mühlenberg's supervision continued his preparatory course for the ministry] preached to my Pennsylvania congregations. In spite of the war-troubles caused by the Indians along the frontiers, God, in his great mercy, permitted us to bring together, reconcile, and finally unite the two congregations. The one of the two congregations I warned against running into debt for an expensive church-edifice, since we were now living in war-times; but they said it was better to spend their earnings in building a church than to save them for the enemy. Germans and English, harmoniously working together, used all possible arguments to make me promise that, if ever possible, I would—at least for a year—come here

with my family and administer to them the means of grace, inasmuch as the Pennsylvanians had all the pastors, while they were left without any. All my objections were of no avail, and after I had told them finally that their old parsonage was too small and unsuitable for my family, these people erected within four months a new roomy building, of freestone, next to the old one. Considering these circumstances, with all their connections, though suffering a loss in temporal things, I could not but promise them that if it pleased God I would be willing for a time to move to them with a view to gather and establish the congregations." In the autumn of the same year he visited them again, spent five weeks with them, and was happy in seeing that the word of God was acceptable to both the Germans and the English.

During the spring and summer of 1758, Mühlenberg spent nine weeks in the Raritan congregations doing the work of a missionary and a pastor, preaching and instructing, and for this purpose using German and English. He also confirmed seven catechumens, and at an unusually great concourse of people of various nationalities and persuasions held the first services in English and German in the newly-erected church at Bedminister. Returning to Pennsylvania, urged by petitions from Germans and English, he travelled through the mountains to what then was called the Pennsylvania frontiers, comforting the poor distressed people by his addresses, and preaching and administering the sacraments to those who, on account of the Indian troubles, had been in great anxiety. On that tour Mühlenberg met in most remote localities acquaintances whom he had formerly known in the "united congregations," and who greatly rejoiced again to see and to hear him. He found that many a good word was retained which he had spoken years before. He took this as an encouraging proof that not all the good seed sowed was lost. During his absence Schaum, then residing in New Hanover, had served his congregations, William Kurtz, Jr., having gone to Tohicon and the neighborhood to labor as catechist. After his return to Providence, Mühlenberg was

requested again to have a care of the Lutherans at Molatton, who since 1752 had been served by the Swedish minister John Abr. Lidenius, who in that year moved into that neighborhood to Manathanim and performed services at Molatton, but after some time moved to Amasland (Kingsessing, west of Philadelphia). In connection with J. N. Kurtz of Tulpehoken and with Schaum he had occasionally served also at Reading, until, at the end of 1758, Hausihl entered there upon his pastoral duties.

Monday, June 11th (the day after Trinity), 1759, Mühlenberg again—and this time accompanied by his family—moved to the Raritan congregations. His family then consisted of himself, Mrs. Mühlenberg, and their seven children. John Peter Gabriel was then in his thirteenth, his sister Eve Elizabeth in her eleventh, year. Both had in 1755 been entrusted to the care of a well-educated Englishwoman married at New Hanover, who, having no children of her own, had, with her husband, adopted an English youth, who, however, after some years departed this life. In her dealings with this youth she had shown so much wisdom, and had exercised such a happy influence upon him, that Mühlenberg knew that his children, while they acquired a proper knowledge of the English language, would also in other respects be well taken care of. How long both of them were in that family we are unable to say. They certainly went with their parents, who travelled in a wagon, to the Raritan congregations. Three of the children were left at Providence. Mühlenberg speaks of taking farewell of them. There was an infant, Samuel, not yet one year old, who afterward was in his sixth year taken by death from his parents; little Samuel also now accompanied them to New Jersey. The three children left at Providence were in good hands. During the winter of 1753 a man twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, William Graaf, a German of good education, through the intercession of friends was received by Mühlenberg into his house, though former trials made in similar cases greatly dissuaded him from this form of charity. He succeeded in reawakening in this waif thrown upon him

in a foreign country the religious impressions of earlier years and in leading him in the good path. During the winter he sent him to an English school to acquire the language, the following summer took him to the Raritan congregations, continued to instruct him and to prepare him for the ministry, after his return from New Jersey procured him a position as teacher on the west side of the Schuylkill, during the winter of 1759 kept him again in his house, directed his studies, and was much gratified in finding that the good Spirit had begun its work in the young man's heart. Being sent out to preach in small congregations at the distant outposts, Graaf gave much satisfaction. Mühlenberg, who intended again to use him for a time as a teacher, advised him for divers reasons to marry. Soon a very suitable partner was found for him, and to this young couple Mühlenberg now for some time left his house and farm-land and three of his children. It seems that on this occasion he had bestowed his confidence upon people worthy of it.

The Lutherans of the New Jersey congregations, knowing the day on which they could expect the visitors, and intending to show all possible respect and attention, had sent six wagons to the Delaware ferry, twenty-five miles from New Germantown. When Mühlenberg and his wife and children arrived, some elders and their wives were present to welcome them and to offer them a well-prepared repast. And now Mühlenberg again began his pastoral work at New Germantown, Bedminster, "in the valley," and in the vicinity, preaching and teaching in German and English, attending to the spiritual condition of many individuals, and visiting the sick and the aged. He met there, also, the Rev. Fr. Schultz, who, having married in 1754, had now settled in this neighborhood. He held, however, no official relation to the congregations, but —at least, for a time—kept a store and practised the medical art. Mühlenberg seems to have spent some of his leisure hours in agricultural pursuits, and during the busy season of haymaking willingly gave his assistance.

July 26th a visitor (Dr. A. v. B.) came from Hackensack,

related the condition of the Lutheran congregation there, brought letters from Hartwig, who on the preceding Sunday had preached there, and in behalf of the congregation requested Mühlenberg to pay them a visit. Aug. 21st, Mühlenberg set out, and on the following day, in company with two gentlemen, by the way of Longhill and Newark, reached the court-house near Hackensack, and later at night the house of L. Van Buskirk, the justice of the peace. He preached there, before an exceedingly large assembly, Sunday, Aug. 26th, and again on Thursday, having promised to preach at Remmerspach on the following Sunday, and held service with the celebration of confirmation and the Lord's Supper. On the following Saturday, Sept. 1st, he set out for Remmerspach, preaching on Sunday, in the morning, in German, in the afternoon, to a still larger assembly, in Dutch. Sept. 4th, Tuesday, at noon, he was again with his family.

We know that Hackensack and Remmerspach were in a parochial connection with the old Dutch Lutheran congregation at New York. Weygand had for a time served all the three churches, but, finding the labor too arduous, had injudiciously placed Schrenk over the two Jersey congregations. We know, too, that Schrenk here also proved his inability, and left after having done mischief. Both congregations were now again vacant, and one of the topics on which Mühlenberg was anxiously consulted was whom to elect as pastor.

Sept. 19th, Mrs. Mühlenberg, taking with her the youngest child, and in a country wagon setting out for Pennsylvania, was accompanied for a distance of eleven miles by her husband, who was on horseback. On his return he visited an aged man who had come to this country in the times of Queen Anne, and for many years had been separated from the congregation and the Lord's Table. In speaking of his protracted conversation with this man he makes in his diary some remarks which evidence his clear and unbiassed judgment, and which may have an interest for our readers. He says: "As regards the long-continued absence from the

Lord's Supper, we poor beings are on each side inclined to extremes. The sainted Luther having found it necessary in his times to save the article of justification by faith of a poor lost sinner before God, and free it from an unfathomable abyss of human ordinances and of a righteousness based upon human doings, and to place that article on its proper throne, the blind zealots but too easily ran into the other extreme; and, although Luther had no less illustriously taught of true sanctity than of repentance, faith, and justification, they rejected with the justification by works the sanctification and daily renewal resulting from justification by faith. But the sainted Arndt, Spener, Müller, Francke, and all other right-minded theologians and servants of Christ, finding it needful to refute the error of those who without the exercise of repentance, faith, and true godliness trusted, in their carnal-mindedness, upon the outward performance and use of the means of grace, many again ran into the other extreme and rejected the proper use of the means of grace." These words clearly prove that Mühlenberg was by no means blind as to the weak and dangerous sides of Pietism.

Coming home that evening, he found his children distressed on account of the absence of their mother. After having (Sept. 25th) preached in the Dutch language on the occasion of a funeral ten miles distant from the church, in a large barn, he on the following day set out for Pennsylvania, and Sept. 27th, at noon, arrived at Providence.

The members of the congregations at Providence, New Hanover, beyond the Schuylkill (in the course of time Zion's and St. Peter's congregations at Pikestown or Vincent), and all other friends, greatly rejoiced again to see and to hear their old pastor, who with his wonted zeal went to the pastoral work. His assistant, Schaum, who had special care of the membership on the other side of the Schuylkill, was a faithful man and willing to do his duty: this enabled Mühlenberg to absent himself for such a length of time from his Pennsylvania congregations. Dur-

ing that summer Schrenk had for the last time after his return from Curaçao been an inmate of Mühlenberg's house at Providence, and by his bad manners created trouble enough to the young Graaf family. Oct. 2d he left, in company with Fred. Schultz, who had been Mühlenberg's fellow-traveller from the Raritan, for Philadelphia, to embark for Europe.

Having made exceeding good use of his few weeks' sojourn among his old Pennsylvania friends, and been engaged in public and private services, in deliberations with his vestries, with Schaum, J. N. Kurtz (who came to visit him the day before his departure), in attending to the sick and to other individual friends, Thursday, Oct. 18th, Mühlenberg again left with Mrs. Mühlenberg, and, taking the direction toward the Delaware, stopped at a place called Bottler's Mill, where quite a number of Germans had settled. The English Baptists had a meeting-house there, and their most prominent member, a justice of the peace, had granted the Germans the use of it for this occasion, provided that Mühlenberg would first deliver a sermon in English. The same individual also privately requested Mühlenberg, before services began, to explain in his address the Lutheran doctrine of baptism, which was done to the great satisfaction of the hearers. After services in German, upon meeting his family Mühlenberg was informed by a private letter of the conquest of Quebec by the English, and of the heroic death of General Wolfe. Mühlenberg's interest in the political affairs of those times was to a large extent based on his sympathy with the Protestants arrayed against the Roman Catholic powers: for this reason he also rejoiced whenever a victory of Frederick the Great over Austria or the French was reported, for the Seven Years' War was just then raging in Germany.

Oct. 19th he again arrived with his family at New Germantown. Oct. 21st he preached there; Wednesday, the 24th, in a barn "in the valley;" began the following day, at Bedminster, instruction with a diversified class of catechumens, some of whom spoke German, others Dutch, and still others English. The military victories over the French on land and on

sea occasioned great celebrations at New Germantown, Bedminster, and many other localities throughout the provinces. And now he continued his pastoral activity through the district in which the Lutherans were settled. Nov. 12th, Mr. Graaf and his wife arrived from Providence, and with them Peter, Mühlenberg's first-born. Graaf preached (Nov. 22d) at Bedminster, and accompanied (Nov. 27th to Dec. 4th) his patron on a tour to Hackensack, on which both of them, crossing a river, were exposed to considerable peril of life. On Dec. 2d, Graaf preached in the Hackensack church. Mühlenberg spoke to some of the church-officers about him as one suited to adminster there in holy things. During his former visit he had proposed Hartwig to them as pastor, but while they gave him full credit for his ability as a preacher and his Christian character, knowing well his peculiarities they did not wish him as a pastor. With Graaf's preaching they were not displeased, but thought Mühlenberg ought to keep him yet for some time as a student. Dec. 6th, Mrs. Mühlenberg returned with two of her children, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Graaf, to Pennsylvania. Three children remained with the father, who as time and circumstances permitted gave them instruction. One of them—Peter, who now made an acquaintance with a part of the country which in later years was useful to him in much higher interests—accompanied (Dec. 31st) his father from New Germantown to Bedminster. Both were on horseback. Peter was then in his fourteenth year. Somewhat later his father puts down in his diary this characteristic remark about him: "He does not care much about female society, but is bent on fishing and hunting." On that occasion Muhlenberg found at Bedminster a considerable number of young people assembled, who gave proof of their ability to sing English psalms. After this exercise he began to catechise them, but says their singing was better than their replies. On the same evening arrived Jacob van Buskirk, a scion of the well-known and highly-respected Van Buskirk family of Hackensack. We entertain no doubt that the happy influence of Mühlenberg had moved this young

man to prepare himself for the service of the Church. For some years he had been under the preparatory tuition of Weygand; now he became a student under Mühlenberg. When Schaum moved to Berks county, Pa., in April, 1762, Van Buskirk took his place at New Hanover, was ordained in 1763, in 1765 was called to Germantown, in 1769 to Macungie, with which Salisbury (Salzburg), Saccum, and Upper Milford were then united, in 1793 to Gwynedd, Whitpain, and Upper Dublin, but was recalled to Macungie in 1795, and died, much beloved and universally respected, on the occasion of a visit to Gwynedd, Aug. 5, 1800, at the age of sixty-one years five months and twenty-six days.

June 15, 1760, Mühlenberg, accompanied by his son Peter and Jacob van Buskirk, set out for Pennsylvania, and arrived on the following day at his home at Providence; returned, however (March 26th) again, with Will. Graaf, to the Raritan congregations, and ministered to them in spiritual things. April 3d, Jacob van Buskirk proceeded to Hackensack to arrange his own affairs there and those of Graaf, who set out (April 20th) with his wife for that district. To the Lutherans of this district his services were devoted until, in 1775, he was elected pastor of the Raritan congregations, and lived and labored among them until he died, at the age of eighty years, in 1809, and was buried at the New Germantown cemetery.

CHAPTER XX.

1752 et seq. (*continued*).

Mühlenberg and the Raritan congregations.—Death of J. C. Weiser.—Rev. P. D. Prizelius.—Mühlenberg declines a call to Nova Scotia.—Charity schools among the Germans in Pennsylvania.—Rev. W. Smith, D. D.—Benjamin Franklin.—Politics mixed with benevolence.—Christopher Sauer.—Mühlenberg's relation to the charity schools.—They cease to be supported.

MÜHLENBERG returned to Pennsylvania May 2, 1760. He was still the responsible pastor of the Raritan congregations, but his personal presence and pastoral activity among them had now come to an end, though he had not paid them his last visit. He continued, however, in providing to the best of his ability for their spiritual wants, to discharge his official obligations to them, and to acknowledge the high regard in which he was held there, and the close and tender attachment which those congregations and many other friends had formed for him. In June, 1760, J. Nic. Kurtz visited these congregations, and served them a number of weeks, while Mühlenberg paid attention to the Tulpehoken churches of Kurtz, and also to the congregation at Reading. On this occasion Mühlenberg had (June 19th to 25th) most agreeable intercourse with his father-in-law, J. Conrad Weiser, Esq. It was the last time he met him on earth. After two days of severe sickness Weiser was called to his rest July 13th, in his sixty-fourth year, and was buried on his farm at Heidelberg, a few miles west of Reading, deeply lamented, not only by his family, but also on account of his great and far-reaching usefulness and the probity of his character, by all Pennsylvania and by many living far beyond her boundaries. A most interesting and beautifully-written sketch of Weiser's life and charac-

ter in the Continuation of the *Halle Reports* we owe to the hand of Mühlenberg: it is eminent among those many and instructive "Examples" taken from pastoral life which form an essential part of the *Reports*, and prove the conscientious manner in which Mühlenberg dealt with the individual cases coming under his pastoral care and attention.

It appears that in consequence of correspondence carried on with the Raritan congregations Mühlenberg sent to them, at the beginning of 1761, the Rev. Paul Daniel Prizelius (the name in our historical sources is given in various forms), a native of Sweden and an alumnus of the University of Upsala, who during a protracted sojourn in Germany had joined the Moravians, and in the beginning of 1742 came with Zinzendorf to Philadelphia. He also styled himself a Swedish Lutheran minister, but was not acknowledged by the Swedish pastors, to whom his Moravianism was well known. In the interests of the same cause he labored until 1745 among Swedish settlers on each side of the Delaware south of Philadelphia, and for a number of years afterward was engaged in furthering the same interests in other localities. It seems, however, that in the course of time, and especially through the influence of the Swedish provost, Dr. C. M. Wrangel, Prizelius changed his views, and, after a thorough examination and a declaration given in writing fully stating his doctrinal and confessional convictions, was received (Oct. 29, 1760) into the German Lutheran Ministerium by act of synod, and then, with excellent recommendations from Mühlenberg of his learning and piety, and also of the excellent character and other suitable qualities of his wife, sent to the Raritan congregations, where he now served in German and in English. His knowledge of the English he had acquired during his stay in England and Ireland, where he had had intercourse with Whitefield. A regular call was given him by the Raritan congregations in 1765, but, in consequence of dissensions between him and the people, he left in 1776 for England; received Episcopal ordination there on the recommendation of the Rev. W. Smith, D. D., of Philadelphia, and was after his return, in 1767, called to Lunenburg, Nova Scotia,

where in 1753 or sooner Germans had settled and formed a Lutheran congregation. He used there a German translation of the Book of Common Prayer, and *sub rosa* received permission to confirm catechumens, but, in consequence of his endeavor to unite Episcopalianism and Lutheranism, gave no satisfaction, and left after a short time.

Already, in 1755, Mühlenberg, through the influence of Rev. Mich. Schlatter, then chaplain to the English army, had received a call from the governor of Nova Scotia to the congregations at Lunenburg and Halifax to serve among the German and English at a salary of seventy pounds sterling, and twenty pounds in addition provided he would devote some time to the instruction of the youth. He says: "All natural feelings did not disincline me to spend my last hours in a locality where I would have opportunity to serve the Church and her schools, to bring up my seven children in a respectable way, and would be released from this never-ceasing being on horseback, which injures the vigor of body and soul; but, not being able to reach a hasty resolution in such important matters, I petitioned for time to consider and pray over this proposition, to ponder well all the circumstances, so as to recognize the gracious will of God. It was subsequently made clear to me that it was not according to the will of God." Rev. Daniel Schuhmacher, who labored in the years 1755–58 at Reading, Pa., was not a member of synod, could not prove his ordination, and, as Mühlenberg states in his diary, was anything but exemplary in his walk and conversation; before his arrival in Pennsylvania he served at Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, and said at that time the congregation there had been too poor to sustain him.

We are fully aware of the great interest which throughout his life Mühlenberg took in Christian schools and the Christian education of the children. He was often and at various localities engaged in teaching. He entertained in the years 1750–60 the plan of establishing an orphan-house for the Lutheran churches under the care of synod, and frequently refers to it in his letters to Europe. He desired his orphan-

house also to serve as a school for training teachers and pastors as they might be needed. He was grieved to find that want of means prevented the execution of his design. That a proposition originating among English people and aiming to establish, in behalf of the children of the German immigrants in Pennsylvania, free or charity schools, addressed itself at once to his sympathy, we can easily understand. Had this plan been kept free from other interests, it might have done much good, and would have found no more intelligent, energetic, and persevering supporter than Mühlenberg.

As the prime mover in this work we recognize the Rev. W. Smith, D. D., who was born 1727 at Aberdeenshire, Scotland, matriculated in 1741 in Aberdeen University, and published in 1750, in London, an address to the leading men in Parliament called the *Memorial for the Established and Parochial Schoolmasters in Scotland*, etc., and an *Essay on Liberty of the Press*. It is probable that he held in London the position of a clerk of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. March 3, 1751, he embarked as tutor with two young Americans returning to their native country, landed at New York May 1, took up his residence on Long Island with Colonel Martin, the father of his pupils, and published during his stay there, in 1753, a few articles, and under an assumed name a plan for the establishment of a college in New Jersey. About that time Princeton College, New Jersey—of which the first charter dates 1746, the second 1748—was going into operation. Smith, however, was an Episcopalian. He sent copies of his pamphlet to the Rev. Rich. Peters, from 1742 provincial secretary of Pennsylvania and clerk of the council of the province, and to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, at that time president of the board of trustees of the academy and charity school at Philadelphia, founded 1749, incorporated 1753, raised to the rank of a college 1755, to that of a university in 1779. Peters and Franklin recognized Smith as the man well qualified to be at the head of the Philadelphia institution of learning. Having by a visit in Philadelphia, in June, 1753, formed their personal acquaintance, he re-embarked the same year for Eng-

land and there (Dec. 13th) addressed a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel concerning the "melancholy situation, through want of instructors and their utter inability to maintain them," of the German Protestants in Pennsylvania, "with the distressing prospect of approaching darkness and idolatry among them, as these things have been represented to their fellow-Protestants in Europe in the most moving terms."

We know that Mühlenberg, Schlatter, the Moravian missionaries, and others gave truthful descriptions of the spiritual destitution of the German settlers in Pennsylvania. The efforts of these men to improve the intellectual, religious, and moral condition of the settlers were free from any other interest. This we cannot say of the movement of Smith and his friends in Pennsylvania; which, however, does not mean that we ascribe to him and to them sinister motives; but we maintain that their interest in behalf of the intellectual and moral culture of the Germans in Pennsylvania was not without some political alloy. Immigration from Germany, particularly in those years, was going on at a very rapid rate. It is maintained by some historians that a short time after the middle of the last century the Germans composed the half of the total population of Pennsylvania. It appeared very possible that if this influx should continue in the same proportion they would at least numerically exceed the English part of the inhabitants, and the continued dominion of the English language as the governmental, official language would be jeopardized. Besides, in those years an outbreak of the conflict with the French plans and forces became more and more imminent. The political party which favored preparations for the military defence of the frontiers, and of which Franklin was the leader, did not hold the reins of governmental power; but they were in the hands of the Quakers, who strenuously and obstinately laid impediments in the way of every military measure. The Germans in Eastern Pennsylvania were in this matter largely in sympathy with the Quakers—partly on account of their moral principles, held by numbers of them in

connection with their peculiar religious persuasions, partly, and much more extensively, because the no-war standard was with them identical with the no-tax imposition. They consequently served to uphold the political power of the Quakers, which to Franklin and his friends in those days—not without good reason—appeared to be a great misfortune to the province and to the whole country. There was also lurking in the background—or at least used as a pretext—the fear that the Germans might secretly be influenced by the Roman Catholic emissaries of the French. The Moravians, who, on account of the daring enterprises of their heroic missionaries in distant parts and in the nearer settlements in Pennsylvania, were in constant intercourse with the Indians, then generally suspected of disloyalty, and afterward, on account of their cruel and barbarous atrocities, intensely hated by many, were exposed to the worst suspicions of favoring the French. Their purely religious and philanthropic principles and measures were misunderstood and misinterpreted. Roman Catholicism was considered by thousands as the power secretly working to undermine and to destroy the Protestant religion and its representative power, the English government. Smith, referring to the danger to which the Germans were exposed of again falling into "idolatry," means perhaps no more than the Roman Catholic forms of worship. The state of feeling in this direction is peculiarly illustrated by a letter sent after Braddock's defeat, July 23, 1755, to Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, and signed by the five justices of the peace of Berks county—among them J. Conrad Weiser. It says: "As all our Protestant inhabitants are very uneasy at the behavior of the Roman Catholics, who are very numerous in this county, some of whom show great joy at the bad news lately come from the army, we have thought it our duty to inform Your Honor of our dangerous situation, and to beg Your Honor to enable us by some legal authority to disarm or otherwise disable the Papists from doing any injury to other people who are not of their vile principles. We know that the people of the Roman Catholic Church are bound by their principles to

be the worst subjects and worst of neighbors, and we have reason to fear just at this time that the Roman Catholics in Cussahoppen [Goshenhoppen], where they have a very magnificent chapel and lately had large processions, have had bad designs; for in the neighborhood of that chapel it is reported, and generally believed, that thirty Indians are now lurking, well armed with guns and swords and cutlasses. The priest at Reading as well as at Cussahoppen last Sunday gave notice to their people that they could not come to them again in less than nine weeks, whereas they constantly preach once in four weeks in their congregations; whereupon some imagine they are gone to consult with our enemies at Duquesne. It is a great unhappiness at this time to the other people of this province that the Papists should keep arms in their houses, against which the Protestants are not prepared, who, therefore, are subject to a massacre whenever the Papists are ready."

We can easily understand that the increase of the numerical strength of the Germans in Pennsylvania, with but little opportunity to acquire a knowledge of the English language, could in various ways—also in the administration of the government and its laws—produce considerable inconvenience. This Smith indicates, saying: "In courts of judicature interpreters are constantly wanted through the vast increase of German business, and may soon be wanted in the Assembly itself to tell one half of the legislature what the other half says." Convinced that a diversity of languages in one and the same political body might prove a great impediment to strength and progress, he advocated the establishment of schools in the German districts of Pennsylvania in which not only the German, but also the English, language should be taught, while religion according to the tenets of each party represented by the pupils should not be excluded. To this end contributions were solicited from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and from individuals, and were liberally granted. In his address to the society Smith says: "The masters of such schools can only be found in America. They must understand the English and High Dutch [!], mathematics, geog-

raphy, drawing, history, ethics, with the constitution and interests of the colonies."

Dr. Smith while staying in England was ordained a deacon Dec. 21, 1753; two days later, a priest. March 15, 1754, he was present at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It was owing to his influence that "a number of noblemen and gentlemen in England, being apprehensive that the ignorance of the German emigrants settled in Pennsylvania might render them liable to be led away from the British interests by French emissaries, and being, also, greatly desirous of giving them means of continuing the free exercise of that religion among them for which very purpose they had migrated from the land of their nativity to those parts, formed themselves into a society, and requested Dr. Samuel Chandler, an English dissenter of prominence, and then secretary of the society, to address a letter to certain gentlemen in Pennsylvania, appointing them their trustees, etc." Chandler wrote the letter. The gentlemen appointed trustees were James Hamilton, lieutenant-governor; William Allen, chief-justice of Pennsylvania; Richard Peters, secretary of Pennsylvania; Benjamin Franklin, postmaster-general; Conrad Weiser, interpreter; and the Rev. Will. Smith. The letter is dated March 15, 1754. It is apparent that the whole plan was fully prepared before Smith set out for England. It was a judicious measure to make Weiser, who understood English as well as German and had most influence among the Germans, one of the trustees. The society had also requested the trustees to "accept of the inspection and management of the whole charity in Pennsylvania, and particularly to assist, encourage, and counsel the Rev. Mich. Schlatter, whom the society has ordered, with a salary of one hundred pounds sterling, made, under your direction, to be their supervisor and visitor of the schools they had agreed to erect in Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, Schippach, and Hanover, where the Germans are settled. The intention of the schools is to instruct their youth in the English language and the common principles of the Christian religion and mo-

rality. The schoolmasters must understand both languages, German and English, and the proper persons may be found in the province." The plan to send over German ministers was also entertained, but, probably by the advice of the trustees, was never carried out.

Smith returned to Philadelphia May 22, 1754, and was on the 24th inducted into office as provost of the college and academy of Philadelphia and professor of natural philosophy. To advanced scholars he lectured also on ethics and rhetoric. The trustees appointed in England held their first meeting Aug. 10, 1754. They had opened correspondence with individuals whose advice was valuable, but, the intentions of the board becoming known, great opposition was soon excited. No one was more antagonistic to the whole plan than Christopher Sauer, printer and publisher at Germantown, the editor of a German periodical which exercised much influence among the Germans. Sauer, who in 1743 had published the first American edition of Luther's translation of the Bible, by his peculiar religious views was in affinity with the Quakers in his anti-war principles. He fully believed in Christianity as he understood it, but was convinced that it would have been better for Christianity and the world if there never had been a "Church," and was totally opposed to a Church clergy, against whom in a very irritating manner he continually made insinuations and aroused the ill-will of the people. His intellectual horizon was a very narrow one. True it is that the "vagabond preachers," of whom there were in those days so many in Pennsylvania, gave him ample cause of complaint, but he was grossly unjust in not discriminating between them and the better class of pastors, whose happy and most desirable influence he in his indiscriminate way also undermined and counteracted. He was right in maintaining that the condition of the Germans was by no means so abominable as had been reported, and that the scheme of the charity schools had a political view which was not to his taste. On this head what we read in a letter addressed by the Pennsylvania trustees to the society in London, Philadelphia, Sept. 24, 1756, may suffice:

"Nothing in this whole business gives us more real satisfaction than to be strongly assured in your letter of Jan. 28, 1755, that the whole of what you aim is not to proselyte the Germans to any particular denomination, but (leaving all of them to the entire liberty of their own judgments in speculative and disputed points) to spread the knowledge of the avowed, uncontroverted principles of religion and morality among them, to render them acquainted with the English language and constitution, to form them into good subjects of His Majesty King George, whose protection they enjoy, and make them friends of that nation which has received them into her bosom, blessed them with liberty, and given them a share in her invaluable privileges." Such opinions Sauer interpreted in his own way. His charging the society with the intention of depriving, under a charitable pretext, the Germans of their native language, and of making them servants of the Proprietors and of their representatives, and forcing them to sell their plantations, was a mere pretence to arouse bad feelings among the Germans. Sauer was never scrupulous about the means he used to accomplish his purpose. Sept. 6, 1756, the governor laid before the Provincial Council a letter of Weiser wherein it was stated that the people had been made extremely hostile to the Proprietaries and the governor by insinuations thrown out in Sauer's periodical, especially in the numbers of Aug. 16th and 29th, wherein a false interpretation was given of the late transactions of this government with the Indians, and a suggestion that their hostility was owing to the Proprietaries' covetousness in not paying them the full equivalent for their lands.

The trustees found difficulties enough in carrying out their scheme of establishing schools in the districts settled by the Germans. One of them was to find properly-qualified teachers who were masters of both languages. In the Philadelphia academy there were a number of children of poor parents who spoke German and English; it was thought that after some time they might be advanced to serve as teachers. Smith reported that he had prevailed upon Brunnholtz to board in his house

a young man, Samuel Magaw, in later years rector of St. Paul's, doctor of divinity, and vice-provost of the university, that he might make further progress in the German language.

To gain information and advice from one who thoroughly knew the Germans, their condition, way of thinking, and manners, Franklin addressed himself to Mühlenberg, and read his answer before the board of trustees. Mühlenberg rejoices in hearing of the scheme for promoting among the Germans in Pennsylvania the knowledge of God and for making them loyal subjects of the venerated Protestant throne of Great Britain. He was pleased that the management of that charity was entrusted to such impartial persons. But, as long experience had made him acquainted with almost every part of Pennsylvania and with the temper and circumstances of his countrymen, he much feared some ill-minded persons would strive to defeat so just and noble a scheme, as they had of late done many others, to the offence of many thousand ignorant but well-meaning souls, unless proper measures were taken to prevent it. Chr. Sauer, he observed, who printed a German newspaper which was universally read by the Germans all over Pennsylvania and the neighboring colonies, was making haste to prejudice them against the scheme, as might be seen by extracts from his paper. Mühlenberg further remarks that Franklin had at great expense set up another German press to rescue the Germans out of Sauer's hands and the bonds of those whose interest it was to keep them in ignorance; but for the want of a German printer of sufficient skill, and of a correspondence necessary to support such a paper as Franklin had undertaken, Sauer had the advantage, continuing to turn the Germans against their clergy and every one who endeavored to bring them to good order in Church and State affairs. Mühlenberg furthermore says that he himself had attempted to buy a printing-press, to serve by this means his countrymen and to instil into them sound notions concerning the inestimable privileges they enjoy under the British Protestant government; he had, however, on account of his increas-

ing family and straitened circumstances, been obliged to drop his design. He proposes to the trustees that they buy a press and edit a newspaper, almanacs, etc. of a proper character. He would be willing, under the trustees, to direct such a press—to use his whole influence among the people and his brethren to support it. He had no doubt of the success of such a paper, and would to this end open correspondence with friends throughout the colonies. He lamented the riotous, disloyal, irreligious character of many Germans, who were stirred up against regularly-ordained and pious pastors by vicious vagabonds who came without orders and credentials and enjoy all liberty to do their nefarious work. He proceeds to depict a few specimens of this kind—Carl Rudolph and Engelland—and says, "There were many more of the same sort which we shall never get rid of, nor reduce the people to proper order until our gracious superiors are pleased to demand proper credentials of all who exercise the ministry, and no longer suffer vagabonds to laugh at *us*, who are regular clergymen, by saying it is a free country, and by turning liberty into licentiousness." Mühlenberg added to his letter portions of Sauer's paper translated into English.

We see that Mühlenberg acknowledged the good contained in the scheme of the charity schools. He knew well enough how much well-kept schools were needed among the Germans, and how much the rising generation would be benefited by them; but he felt deeply that to the wicked characters entirely too much freedom was given to destroy all the good which right-minded persons endeavored to do. In agreement with his representations, the trustees resolved to send out a printed account of the real design of the "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge" among the Germans, couched in the most unexceptional language; also to buy a press, engage a suitable printer, and publish a newspaper.

At a subsequent meeting of the board, Aug. 23, 1754, petitions were presented from Providence, New Hanover, and other localities requesting the board to establish charity schools, and to use for this purpose the school-houses erected

by various congregations. Lutherans and Reformed united here and there for this end. The work was actually begun: schools were established in 1755 at Providence, New Hanover, Vincent, Reading, Tulpehoken, Lancaster, York, and other places. Rev. M. Schlatter was appointed inspector of the schools. Pastors of Lutheran and Reformed congregations were engaged as catechists, to attend to the religious instruction of the children according to the denomination to which they belonged. The editing of a German newspaper was begun at Philadelphia, and Handschuh had the supervision of it.* In a short time there were upward of four hundred subscribers to it, which was a promising beginning. It was also intended to give some poor children a higher education in the Philadelphia academy, to take up Indian children and to instruct them, and to distribute religious literature among the Germans.

Admitting that there was ample room in Pennsylvania for the general features of an educational scheme as represented by the charity schools, we can see many reasons why it could not succeed well for any length of time. The whole enterprise contained a seeming reproach to the German population. It may not have been intended, but it was felt as such. It put the Germans into a position of utter inability to take care of themselves and of their children in the matter of intellectual, moral, and religious culture. To this must be added the impression created by the influence of Sauer and of others, who operated upon the credulous minds of a population not able to take an independent position and consider and solve the questions involved in the scheme. The absurdities published by Sauer, though never so great, nevertheless controlled the feelings and the opinions of many. In a letter of Sept. 5, 1755, he says that he had been thinking whether it was really

* The title was "*Philadelphische Zeitung von allerhand auswaertigen und einheimischen merkwürdigen Sachen.* Philad. Gedrukt und zu haben bey Benj. Franklin, General Postmeister, und A. Armbruster, in der Markt Strasse, das jahr für 3 schillinge." What we have of this paper indicates no originality. There are no leaders; the whole is very commonplace.

true that Gilbert Tennent (a prominent Presbyterian pastor at Philadelphia), Schlatter, Peters, Hamilton, Allen, Smith, Franklin, Mühlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh, and others have the slightest care for the real conversion of the ignorant portion of the Germans in Pennsylvania, or whether the institution of the free schools is not rather the foundation to bring the country into servitude, so that each of them may look for and have his own interest and advantage. Again: "Concerning Hamilton, Peters, Allen, Shippen, and Franklin, I know that they care very little about religion; nor do they care for the cultivation of the minds of the Germans, except that they should form the militia and defend their properties. Such people do not know what it is to have faith and confidence in God, but they are mortified that they cannot compel others to defend their goods." Such things, and even worse, Sauer published at a time when, after the defeat at Fort Duquesne, the Indians broke in upon the settled frontiers in Pennsylvania and committed all sorts of cruel atrocities. But it cannot be denied that there were interests on the other side; that there was in the scheme of those schools some ulterior object in view; that it did not proceed from pure, unalloyed charity; that political party proclivities, and even certain ecclesiastical party interests, were connected with it. The biographer of Rev. W. Smith, Horace Wemyss Smith, to whom we owe a more detailed knowledge of the whole history of the plan of the Pennsylvania charity schools, when speaking of the wisdom of the scheme, makes the remark: "The Rev. Mr. Mühlenberg of the Lutheran Church, who was a co-worker with Smith, sincerely respected the Church of England, and afterward was even a trustee of the venerable corporation established A. D. 1769 for the relief of widows and children of its clergymen. Moreover, a portion of that Church has always been disposed to recognize the validity of Lutheran orders, as the Church generally does, I believe, the validity of the Swedish and Moravian. Thus, even if the whole body of poor Germans passed into the Lutheran Church, a great gain was made to the Church of England on their previous forms of

faith—or, rather, on their previous want of all faith." Do these words reflect the sentiments of Smith, Peters, and other Episcopalians who were the prime originators of the whole school plan? Considering the disturbed condition of Pennsylvania society in 1755 and the following years, the impossibility of exercising, through those schools, a lasting influence upon the whole German population, dispersed over a vast territory, the large expense necessary from year to year for the maintenance of the schools and the teachers, to be gathered merely from charitable people, and all the antagonistic impeding elements, we cannot wonder that after some years the whole work of the charity schools had to be abandoned. We hear the last of them in 1763.

Smith's outspoken opposition to the Quaker government in Pennsylvania the Quakers resented by having him brought before their official body, tried, found guilty, and imprisoned, Jan. 25, 1758. Visiting England in 1759, he was received with many honors, was made by the University of Oxford and by that of Aberdeen a doctor of divinity, brought an appeal before the privy council, was declared not guilty, and the Pennsylvania Assembly was reprimanded for assuming powers which did not belong to it.

CHAPTER XXI.

1760–1761.

Distinguished visitors at Providence.—Rev. Rich. Peters, D. D.—Rev. Chas. M. Wrangel, D. D.—His friendship with Mühlenberg.—His activity as pastor and as provost of the Swedish churches.—His voice in behalf of the history of the Lutheran Church in America.—Mühlenberg accepts the call to the German Lutheran church at Philadelphia.—History and condition of this congregation.—Gerhard Henkel.—J. Eneberg.—J. Chr. Schultze.—J. C. Stoever.—J. Dylander.—P. Brunnholtz.—J. F. Handschuh elected pastor.

PROVIDENCE, from 1745 the home of Mühlenberg and the centre of his parochial district, was not destined to be his abode during the whole extent of his earthly career. His attachment to the locality never ceased. There he lived in a house and on a piece of ground which he could call his own; there after his marriage he had begun family life; there most of his children were born, and with a large number of people, even outside of his congregation, most friendly relations had through the course of many years been formed. We know that on various occasions and from divers localities calls had repeatedly come to him to enter upon distant fields of pastoral activity. Some of them offered to him undeniable advantages in various points of view. Temporarily he had taken care of congregations in distant places. To some he had shown himself a real help in their distress, but he had never felt himself at liberty to part with the field of labor upon which, after his arrival in Pennsylvania, he had first and successfully entered. Only the most pressing necessity could convince Mühlenberg that the time for a change had come and that his services were permanently needed in another locality.

Providence, though remote from the political, social, and

commercial centre of the province of Pennsylvania, could not play the rôle of a bushel to hide the excellent qualities of an eminent man. Mühlenberg's name was already and most favorably known, not only within the Lutheran Church and the large circle of her membership, but to representative men of other denominations and in the different portions of public life. He kept up an extensive correspondence with these, and to some of the men of high standing Providence was not too much out of the way to prevent them from paying a visit to the Lutheran pastor there, and entering into conversation with him on subjects of common interest.

Among such visitors we find the Rev. Richard Peters, secretary of the province of Pennsylvania, agent of the Penn family, the Proprietaries, and president of the Philadelphia academy. Aug. 9 and 10, 1760, this gentleman was the guest of Mühlenberg at Providence, attended on Sunday the morning service in the Augustus Church, and in the afternoon preached there in an instructive and edifying manner to a large assembly. In this exceptional case Mühlenberg felt himself perfectly justified in inviting an Episcopalian to a Lutheran pulpit. Richard Peters was for a time prevented, under very unusual circumstances, from exercising the functions of the sacred office, though he had received holy orders in his native country, England. The life of this man had taken a very extraordinary course. He was the talented son of Ralph Peters, town-clerk of Liverpool, was sent by his father to the Westminster School of London, went most honorably through it before he was fifteen years of age, and was unfortunately deluded by a servant-maid where he lodged into a Fleet marriage. His parents, hearing of it, altered their mind as to the remaining part of his education, and, instead of sending him to Oxford, removed him to Leyden in Holland, where he remained three years. Upon his return to England he was put to study under the care of Mr. Rootle of the Inner Temple, by the command of his father, against his own will, for he was always inclined to go into holy orders. "In the study of law he spent five years. Though capable of practising the law to great advan-

tage, yet, his religious turn of mind increasing, he prevailed upon his father to let him take holy orders, which were conferred upon him by the bishop of Winchester—in the year 1730 to be deacon, and the year following, at Chelsea, to be priest. Some little time after Mr. Rootle collated him to Latham Chapel, a donative in the parish of Prinskirk, in the county of Lancaster, diocese of Chester, in which neighborhood he lived ever since (*sic*), and was there taken notice of by the late earl of Derby and entrusted with the education of two of his relations, and lived with His Lordship in his palace at Knowsly till the 1st of July last. During all this time, knowing in what a base manner he was tricked by the woman, he never cohabited with her nor gave himself any trouble about her; and about three years ago, upon his return from Leyden, where he had been to place the two young gentlemen My Lord's relations, he was congratulated by all his friends in a public manner for his deliverance from the woman, who, they had told him, had died while he was in Holland, and her death was confirmed afterward by several letters from his friends in London. Taking himself, and being taken by the whole neighborhood, to be at full liberty, he made his public addresses to Miss Stanley, sister of the two young gentlemen whom he had placed in Leyden, and married her Christmas was twelve months. In June last it was discovered that the woman was alive; upon which he voluntarily, with the consent of his wife, came over here, where, as I said, he has assisted Mr. Cummings in the church of Philadelphia, and to my certain knowledge he has given the greatest satisfaction to the people of any clergyman that was ever here." Thus writes Mr. Jerem. Langhorne (May 28, 1736) to the bishop of London. When the circumstances under which Peters had come to Pennsylvania became known, his clerical character was seriously attacked, he was denounced as living in bigamy, and in 1737 he left the service of the Church. But his eminent talents and his education as a lawyer soon opened other doors for him. In that same year he accepted the secretaryship of the Pennsylvania land-office, and in 1742 was called

to the honorable and lucrative position of secretary of the province and clerk of the council.

There were many who heartily wished Peters's return to the service of the Church. Among these was Mühlenberg, who in a letter to him (Dec. 6, 1756) refers to meeting him and Acrelius on the evening of Oct. 31st of the same year, speaks in high terms of the talents and the merits of Peters under the distressing circumstances of that time, and adds: "Don't you think it your incumbent duty now to satisfy and dedicate your catholic spirit, together with all the faculties and uncommon talents and gifts entrusted you, but which have been dormant, to act the more vigorously in the eleventh hour solely for the use and benefit of God's vineyard in the present critical and dangerous situation?" Peters was in 1763 elected rector of Christ Church at Philadelphia, in which capacity he died in 1776. He had always taken a decisive position against Methodism, which in those years seriously affected the churches and congregations in the provinces. In the Episcopal congregation at Philadelphia the Rev. Will. Macclenachan, an adherent of Whitefield, created by his extravagant enthusiasm much disturbance, which resulted in the separation of a portion of the membership, the organization of a new congregation, St. Luke's, over which Macclenachan under many discomforts presided for more than two years, and then left for Maryland, where he is said to have seen the errors of some of his ways. Complaints about him were sent by a convention of the Pennsylvania Episcopal clergy to England in May, 1760, and referring to "his exceeding ill-behavior to the members of this convention during their sitting, his scurrilous and abusive language to many of them, his railings and revilings of his brethren in the pulpit, his singular manner of preaching," etc. Such a man was not at all to the taste of Peters, who, while conservative in his views and practices as a Churchman, leaned neither to the enthusiasm nor asceticism of Methodism. That he was neither an enthusiast nor an ascetic is perhaps indicated by a letter of Colonel John Stanwix sent to him from the military camp near Carlisle, Pa.,

July 25, 1757, where we find the following: "Have built a hut in camp, where the captains and I live together, and, as you have promised to come this way about August, shall be glad you could see how we make it out. Cockram says the rule at whist is at present only shillings, but that is to be changed into dollars when you and Mr. Allen come here." This Mr. Allen is probably the chief-justice of Pennsylvania. We have here a glimpse of the character of the recreations in which in those times men of society indulged.

In the same month and year in which Rich. Peters had visited Mühlenberg another stranger, who in subsequent times came infinitely nearer to his heart, the Rev. Chas. Magnus Wrangel de Saga, provost of the Swedish churches on the Delaware, pastor of the Wicaco (Gloria Dei) congregation at Philadelphia, paid his respects to him in his quiet rustic home at Providence. He arrived in the afternoon of Aug. 24th, and enjoyed the hospitality of his host and family until Aug. 26, 1760. It was the first time the two men had met, and they at once began to form an intimate friendship. Wrangel had come with the special intention personally to invite Mühlenberg to be present at the yearly convention of the Swedes at Wicaco church, Sept. 14th and 15th. Wrangel, like his predecessors in the provost's office, had been authorized and advised by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of Sweden to entertain fraternal relations with the German Lutheran ministry—an injunction which under no other provost of the Swedish churches was more vigorously carried out than under Wrangel, and, although the official interests of each side were necessarily kept asunder, was supported by the friendship existing between him and Mühlenberg. Wrangel, a scion of the family made famous by the exploits of General Torstenson Wrangel during the Thirty Years' War, had received his education partly in his native country, Sweden, partly at the University of Göttingen, was made a private chaplain to King Adolphus Frederick (1751–71), and then in 1759 was sent as provost to the Swedish pastors and congregations on the Delaware. He is often spoken of as "a young

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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

man" when he arrived in this country, and, in fact, in the performance of his duties as pastor and provost exhibited the zeal and vigor of the prime of life. It is certainly a proof of his talent, education, and energy that during his career in America he preached the gospel in German and in English no less than in Swedish. Frequently he interchanged pulpits with Mühlenberg, who then in Wrangel's congregations preached in English, which was understood equally as well as the Swedish by many of his hearers, and even better by a considerable number of the younger generation. Wrangel must have been a fluent preacher, of much fervor. He was often necessitated, when visiting congregations, to preach in the open air, the churches being too small for the number of his auditors. His religious fervor was to a large extent of the Halle type, but, while he was meditative and demanded personal experience and Pietistic inwardness, he was certainly not quietistic, but, like his friend Mühlenberg, unceasingly active in preaching the gospel, in building up congregations, and in searching after the spiritually destitute within, and even beyond, the limits of his diocese. One of his missionary journeys in the search after dispersed Swedish settlers took him across Jersey down to Egg Harbor, at that time considered by Philadelphians as an *ultima thule*. As a friend he was very sympathetic and ever ready to share the burdens lying on others. To Mühlenberg he often acted as an assistant. He participated in the affairs of the German Lutheran congregations and gave his advice and labor, and at times was present at meetings of vestries and congregations, where his opinion also carried weight. It happened not merely once that in Philadelphia he stayed with Mühlenberg so late that only on the following day he returned to his own house, a mile or more distant, near the Wicaco church. At other times the same happened to Mühlenberg, who had to be satisfied with the accommodations which his bachelor friend Wrangel could offer him. Wrangel sought to come into contact with all those in whom he discovered that form of piety which was to him of uppermost concern—viz. personal, indi-

vidual experience of grace. He entertained friendly relations with Whitefield, and, without sympathizing with the extravagancies of his adherents outside of and within the Episcopal Church, was among the advocates of the Methodist movement, which in these years was pushing itself to the foreground in the religious world. Some light is thrown upon the situation by a letter of the Episcopal missionary Hugh Neill to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, dated Oct. 17, 1763, which says: "Mr. Whitefield, arriving lately among us, and meeting with a most cordial reception from the Episcopal clergy of Philadelphia, hath thrown the clergy and laity into a great consternation. The unanimity among the Church clergy both in city and country for these three and twenty years past prevented his hurting the Church (a few individuals excepted). The divisions that he created among the dissenters in this province and all over America [this refers especially to the Presbyterians] were examples sufficient to warn us from splitting upon the same rock. But such has been the fatality of our city brethren that they have received him with open arms, and still continue to follow him from the church to the meeting-house, and from there to the church again, with a greater degree of veneration, I really believe, than if His Grace of Canterbury were to condescend to pay them a visit. Mr. Duché [his name is several times respectfully introduced in the Halle *Reports*], one of the assistant ministers of Christ Church at Philadelphia, and Mr. Wrangel, the Swedish minister, have appeared more openly than the others in preaching up his doctrine and espousing his cause: they have set up private meetings in town, where they admit of none but such as they deem converted. The Swedish missionary, Mr. Wrangel, has set up a week-day lecture within a small distance of my church of Oxford [north of Philadelphia City], with a view to make some impression upon my people; but he hath failed hitherto."

For a time Wrangel delivered lectures on Monday evenings in a private house at Philadelphia. The house not giving

room enough to all the attendants, the German Lutheran vestry allowed him St. Michael's Church for that purpose. The lectures were delivered in English. Mühlenberg speaks of them as being mainly excellent exegetical expositions of Bible passages. He was himself a regular attendant whenever time would permit. We never meet with a trace indicating that Wrangel went into any extravagances or that during his administrations any disorders took place, but this did not prevent three of the Swedish pastors under his supervision from lodging complaint against him with the ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden. They (Rev. Messrs. Borell, Wicksell, and Hegeblad) refer especially to his Pietistic proclivities, but seem to have made no impression in Sweden. Of the pastoral activity of his clerical friend Mühlenberg thus speaks in his diary (April 18, 1762): "Dr. de Wrangel, at the present time Swedish provost, preaches on Sunday, in the forenoon, in Swedish, in his own church [Wicaco]; in the afternoon he goes on horseback a distance of six miles to a congregation on the other side of the Schuylkill, and delivers a second sermon; in the evening he again preaches in his own church, and this third time in English. Every fourth week he undertakes a laborious tour through the province of Jersey to his destitute congregations. Through the week-days he visits other scattered outposts of his Church, goes from place to place, holds catechizations in the houses, and, in spite of his indescribable labors and exertions among his dispersed sheep, he is willing from time to time to visit the destitute flocks of poor German Lutherans, and to bring joy by administering to them the means of grace, although he could give convincing proofs that he has laid upon him more than enough work among his own nation. Some might think that personal interests have an influence in this matter, but there is not the least room left for such thoughts, since here the poorest flocks of Lutherans are referred to, and Provost Wrangel cannot be moved to take a single penny from the Germans."

It is a proof of the interest Wrangel took in the whole Lutheran Church and its history and of his well-cultivated

mind that at the meeting of the German Lutheran Ministerium at Philadelphia, Oct. 20, 1763, he solemnly addressed the brethren and requested each of them to furnish for a history of the Lutheran Church in this country, according to his ability, some documents concerning the first beginning and the progress of their respective congregations. They promised to do it. Whether the promise was kept we know not, but we may well ask, What would we now know of the history of the Lutheran Church in this country if the Halle missionaries, and especially Mühlenberg, had not, in agreement with the rules laid down in Halle, kept their diaries, sent them to the Fathers, and continually kept up correspondence with them?

When, in 1768, Wrangel visited England on his recall to Sweden, Richard Peters, then rector of Christ Church at Philadelphia, introduced him to the bishop of London by the following letter, the interpretation of which we leave to our readers:

"PHILADELPHIA, 30 Aug., 1768.

"MY MUCH-HONORED LORD: It is not unknown to Your Lordship that the Church of England in this province has always been in connection with the Swedish churches, and that the missionaries sent from Sweden, who have, except a few instances, been persons of eminent learning and piety, have at all times given us a very ready assistance and done us many substantial services.

"The Rev. Dr. Wrangel, whom I have made bearer of this letter on purpose to introduce him to Your Lordship, is of the first rank amongst those missionaries, and is now on his return to Sweden after an absence of nine years. Before he came here he was in high esteem with the king of Sweden, and is one of His Majesty's domestic chaplains.

"His Majesty, indeed, appointed him commissary of the Swedish churches here and rector of the old Swedish church at Wicaco, in the neighborhood of this city, as a parochial pastor. I can truly say that he was indefatigable. He has

given very instructive lectures on week-days that have spread among his people a good knowledge of religious principles, and as commissary it has been his constant care to visit all the churches—though they are at great distances from one another—carefully, and wherever he could has given encouragement to settle regular and pious ministers, and has actually built churches and brought into church communion numbers of people who were without any public worship.

"He knows all the affairs of this province and the state of religion and the situation of our own and the German churches, and I most humbly and earnestly recommend it to Your Lordship to enter into a free and full conversation with him. The Presbyterians, under a pretence of answering Dr. Chandler [who had in a pamphlet advocated the appointment of bishops for America], have gone into many abusive publications, and have raised against them all other churches in common from the bitterness and vengeance that appear in their writings. As they are numerous, all other persuasions begin to tread and unite against them as people who have more tyranny in their system and temper than any other Church whatever. Dr. Wrangel wants to take a just advantage of this general antipathy to the Presbyterians, and to unite the great body of Lutherans and Swedes with the Church of England, who, you know, are but few and in mean circumstances in this province; but were they united with the German Lutherans we should both become respectable. This Dr. Smith and I think may be done by the means of our academy. We might have a professorship of divinity opened in it wherein German and English youth might be educated; and by having both languages as a part of their education they might preach both in German and English in such places where there is a mixture of both nations. This would conciliate us all, and make us live and love as one nation. It is an happy thought. I wish Your Lordship would talk with Dr. Wrangel and encourage it all you can. I have wrote to the two archbishops on this head, and beg they may consider this well together with Your

Lordship. I am sure there is now a good opportunity of bringing this desirable thing to a good issue.

"I am Your Lordship's most dutiful son and servant,

"RICHARD PETERS."

As a pastor Wrangel was very conscientious. To regulate his visits to the families under his care he made lists of the parents, children, and servants, and noted both their *profectus* and *defectus*. On Sunday, an hour before the beginning of the public services, he gave an exegetical explanation of a passage of the New Testament, adding a practical application, delivered a sermon of about three-quarters of an hour's length, and questioned his hearers about its contents. In this he followed the custom of his native country (Acrelius, *Hist.*, p. 218). It proves his intense interest in the progress and the state of the entire Lutheran Church that he was often present at the meetings of the German Lutheran Synod, at the dedication of churches, opening of school-houses, and similar festival occasions. He and J. Nic. Kurtz made in the autumn of 1761 a tour of visitation to New York and the New Jersey congregations and attended a college commencement at Princeton, to which Wrangel was specially invited. On the other hand, Mühlenberg took pleasure in accompanying his friend Wrangel on pastoral tours. Thus we find the two paying a visit to the island of Tinicum in the Delaware, some miles south of Philadelphia. There, one hundred and twenty years before, the Swedes had made a settlement, built a fort, and erected the first Lutheran church on the Western continent. There had also been a cemetery on the island. They found some decayed bones and also scanty remnants of the church. We meet here and there in Mühlenberg's diaries with remarks which amply indicate how sweet to him was the intercourse with such a friend as Wrangel. This intercourse, as may be expected, was strengthened when Mühlenberg, in consequence of a pressing call given by the German Lutheran congregation, Oct. 29, 1761, moved with his family to Philadelphia.

Surely nothing but the most urgent necessity and a keen sense of imperative duty could induce Mühlenberg to leave his home at Providence and the field of action on which he had labored as pastor during so many years. He met also with very strong opposition on the part of his people, who had allowed him from time to time to sojourn at New York and in the Raritan congregations, considering that his temporary absence was justified by the necessities of these congregations and of the brethren in the faith. But a regular call to Philadelphia presented a different aspect. They were afraid of entirely losing him and his services, and, though he comforted them with the promise that his absence should only last "a time," they made many efforts altogether to prevent that change. When, on Sept. 6, 1761, he preached at Providence, the church was crowded in consequence of the rumors of his intention to leave. That day was his birthday; he was now fifty years of age. He felt keenly that he was taking a most critical step. In his country churches he had a strong home-feeling. He knew the people, and they knew, esteemed, and loved him; he had established among them a certain order, and things moved on in a quiet way. He knew that in Philadelphia new and heavy burdens would be laid upon him. On the very day of his arrival at the city he told his wife that they had to prepare themselves to endure afflictions and sufferings. And, indeed, all his friends at Providence, New Hanover, and the vicinity well enough knew that by entering upon the service of the Philadelphia congregation he could not expect to lead an easier life. Neither could they deny the force of his reasoning with them. He had never formally resigned the call once given him by the Philadelphia Lutherans in connection with those at Providence and New Hanover. The condition of the Philadelphia congregation had of late become so deplorably critical that an extraordinary measure was imperatively demanded there to prevent, if ever possible, rupture and ruin. As may be expected, the representatives of the Providence and New Hanover congregations replied to these reasons that, while Philadelphia might

possibly be saved, their own flocks might be scattered. By way of a compromise they proposed that Mühlenberg should spend every fourth Sunday at Philadelphia, but not move there with his family. Finally, it was agreed that he should not resign at Providence and New Hanover, neither forsake them, but keep them under his supervision, visit them from time to time, procure for them during his absence pastors of good qualities, and as soon as possible return to his home. Rev. Hartwig was selected by them as a substitute during his absence, and served Mühlenberg's parochial charge for six months. The congregation on the west shore of the Schuylkill was under the care of J. H. Schaum, then residing at New Hanover, until, in April, 1762, he moved to Berks county. His successor at New Hanover and at Pikestown, beyond the Schuylkill, was J. van Buskirk, until in 1765 he moved to Germantown.

The origin of the Philadelphia German Lutheran congregation, like that of thousands of congregations throughout Christendom, is shrouded in mystery. When, in 1683, Germantown was founded by Germans of peculiar religious tenets antagonistic to the existing Church bodies of Germany, their confessions, ritual, and mode of administration, there were perhaps no German Lutherans in Philadelphia. Some may have arrived in the following years. Jacob Fabricius, who was from 1677 pastor among the Swedes settled where (1682) Philadelphia was located and elsewhere on the Delaware, and even after he had become blind in 1682, continued his services for some years more, and may have occasionally preached to their increasing numbers. For decades of years succeeding, there was, however, no German Lutheran church organization in Philadelphia. When Gerhard Henkel, after his arrival in Pennsylvania, about the year 1717 or 1718, as an itinerant preacher served the German Lutherans at New Hanover and other localities, he may occasionally have exercised the functions of the sacred office also at Philadelphia, but the historical proof is wanting. About 1730 a Swedish Lutheran minister, John Eneberg—whom, by permission of Bishop

Dr. Swedberg, Rev. Norberg, pastor of the Swedish church in London, had ordained with a view to missionary services among the Swedes on the Delaware—arrived here, and first preached to the German Lutherans, and among them especially to those at Philadelphia. But when Rev. J. Lidman, pastor of the Wicaco congregation, in November, 1730, returned to Sweden, Eneberg presided for two years over the vacant Wicaco church, and in 1733 entered upon his pastoral duties at Christina (Wilmington), to which a royal commission given at Stockholm July 4, 1732, had called him.

In company with a man whom many years later Mühlenberg met at Cohansey, N. J., and designates as "J. M. M.," the first and oldest settler in that vicinity, there arrived (Sept. 25, 1732) Rev. John Christian Schultze, who, as it appears, convinced the German Lutherans at Philadelphia, Providence, and New Hanover of his legitimacy as a Lutheran pastor, served them a short time, and was then, already in the spring of 1733, delegated with two laymen, Weisiger and Schoener, to travel to Europe and raise collections in behalf of these three churches. From this voyage he never returned. Before leaving he ordained at Providence the younger one of the two J. C. Stoevers, who now entered upon pastoral duties at Philadelphia and as itinerant preacher in other and in some very distant localities. This Stoever—whose namesake and relative had in the passenger-list of the ship in which they had arrived at Philadelphia, Sept. 11, 1728, entered himself as a missionary, and, as we have learned, accepted in 1735 a call to Virginia—is found in that list as student of theology. He moved (1729 or 1730) to the vicinity of Earltown (New Holland), Lancaster county, Pa., and seems to have performed ministerial acts before he was ordained by Schultze. In the church record commenced by him at Philadelphia in 1733 he entered such acts, performed as early as 1729. Through a series of years he served in periodical rotation a considerable number of congregations and began their church records. The title of the Philadelphia record, a small-sized folio, reads thus: "Church-book and Protocol in behalf of the Evangelical

Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia, wherein are contained and recorded—1. Objects presented and bought in behalf of the maintenance of public services; 2. Baptized children, with the names of the fathers and sponsors; 3. Persons confirmed and the first time admitted to the Lord's Supper; 4. Persons betrothed and married; 5. Those who were buried honorably and in a Christian manner. Begun by me, John Caspar Stoever, at this time Evangelical Lutheran High German pastor in this place. *Anno Salvatoris Nostri,* 1733."

The entries made in that book by Stoever cease with January, April, and May, 1735. There are no minutes of any vestry-meetings, and it appears that there was no regular organization; or if there was anything of the kind, it was of a very imperfect character. That the services of Stoever, who for a short time periodically appeared and then again disappeared and left the congregation without any services, were not satisfactory, we learn from the fact that Rev. Dr. Francke as early as March 11, 1735, alludes to a petition sent to him from Philadelphia for godly ministers. We know that the congregations of Philadelphia, Providence, and New Hanover unitedly addressed Rev. Dr. Ziegenhagen at London and Rev. Dr. Francke at Halle, and entreated them to send a suitable pastor. The letters are signed by "Vorsteher" of these churches: since elders are not mentioned, we cannot take that word here in the specific sense of "deacon," but in the generic sense of "officers of the congregation." It indicates at least some sort of organization.

The correspondence of the "Fathers" had no practical result until the sending of Mühlenberg in 1742. We know that in that same year Zinzendorf had made efforts to control the German Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia and those in other localities of Pennsylvania, and that in Philadelphia, after the rupture separating the Lutherans from his influence, Val. Kraft had acted as pastor until, Nov. 25th of that year, Mühlenberg arrived. During the preceding years the Philadelphia German Lutherans had no pastor. They continued, however, when Stoever left them, to meet in a building which

they and the German Reformed had about 1730 unitedly rented, alternately holding Sunday services. Rev. John Dylander, from Nov. 6, 1737, until his death, Nov. 2, 1741, pastor of Wicaco church—a man highly esteemed and much beloved—used his ability to preach the gospel also in the German language for the benefit of the German Lutherans at Philadelphia; he also dedicated the stone church which the German Lutherans for some years had been erecting at Germantown. Acrelius says of him: "No one can deny to Mr. Dylander the honor which he gained for himself in his ministerial office, in that for more than a year he held morning service at eight o'clock in German, High Mass in Swedish, and vespers in English in the church at Wicaco." We find, however, that before Dylander had arrived here a certain John Albert Langerfeldt, of Halberstadt, Germany, who had attended lectures on jurisprudence and on theology at Halle, but who had not intended to serve as a pastor and never pretended to be ordained, at the request of the people—among whom he was of good report—for a time preached every other Sunday to the German Lutherans at Philadelphia. Thus we read in a letter of the three united congregations dated Feb., 1735, to Dr. Francke.

At an earlier stage of our narrative, when speaking of Zinzendorf we mentioned that he had formed a sort of constitution for the German Lutherans at Philadelphia. This constitution never entered into the life of the congregation, yet it may have been the cause of Mühlenberg's finding in the congregation two distinct orders of lay officers, elders and deacons—a division maintained by a very large number of Lutheran congregations throughout Pennsylvania and beyond it, while in many to these two orders is added the third one of trustees. This was during a number of years the case in the Philadelphia congregation.

In the year 1745, Brunnholtz entered upon pastoral duties in Philadelphia. Mühlenberg, without resigning in Philadelphia, took charge of the country congregations. Entries of the Philadelphia vestry-meetings are not found until Aug. 17,

1746; from that time they are kept with more or less regularity. When Brunnholtz was called as the second pastor there was no congregational constitution adopted, though a certain order was established and maintained by custom. In an address delivered on the first Sunday after Epiphany, 1757, from the pulpit, Brunnholtz, referring to the years 1743–48, during which St. Michael's was built, says: "On the twelfth Sunday after Trinity I formally, from the pulpit, appointed about twelve men as elders. Assisted by these, I selected four deacons, who should serve alternately two years, as had been our custom up to this time. The elders, together with the deacons, were, when assembled, called a church council, because in their meetings they were to counsel together and to adopt resolutions. We find that in 1746 these four men were placed before the congregation, and, no objection being raised against them, they were publicly reminded of their official duties, and, giving their hands, solemnly promised faithfully to serve." It is stated that these four men served "until New Year, 1748, or the end of 1747." When, in 1757, Brunnholtz presented to the congregation two men selected by him and the elders out of four who had been nominated, he reminded them of their duty to live in a Christian way and to give a good example to others; to further the interests of the congregation in all internal and external matters; to live with their two brethren in the office in peace and harmony; to keep strict account of the moneys entrusted to their care, and to lock them up in the box the key of which was in the hands of one of the elders; never to open the box but in the presence of a fellow-deacon; never to loan even a penny of the money of the congregation to any one, "not for eight days;" to demand for all bills paid receipts in writing, and to preserve them, and carefully to have a strict eye upon all disorder that might happen during public services; "better than was the case formerly" to provide for the minister's salary; kindly, modestly, and patiently to deal with the members of the congregation; and to be satisfied with their reward—viz. "that orderly members will honor and love you, disorderly

and censorious persons will calumniate and scold you." To all this the two selected, J. Kuhn and Chr. R. Uhl, assented, and were installed in their offices for the two years 1757 and 1758. The elders, as it appears, were elected for life—a circumstance which occasioned later considerable difficulty. June 5, 1757, Brunnholtz died. It may serve as a proof that a regular order of business was not strictly maintained in those times, to state that often members of the congregation not in office were called to the vestry-meetings to give their advice. This was probably done in remembrance of the word that there is wisdom in the multitude of counsellors. We add that during the erection of St. Michael's Church in 1743 four members of the congregation gave security for the payment of the debts incurred. When the building was erected and dedicated the deed of the lot and the church was handed (Nov. 8, 1748) to eight trustees, among whom were Mühlenberg and Brunnholtz.

We remember that J. F. Handschuh, when driven out of the Lutheran congregation at Germantown in 1753, served there a small flock of such members as were averse to the spirit then ruling in that congregation. He could not, however, find the necessary means of subsistence, and was glad when Mühlenberg's influence with the trustees of the charity schools and academy procured him at Philadelphia (to which place he moved Aug. 15, 1755) the situation of teacher of French in the academy, proof-reader in the printing-office of the Charity-school Society, and translator of English articles into German for the same. Pastor Heintzelmann beginning to suffer in health, and Brunnholtz being often in a weak condition, Handschuh assisted in their pastoral work. When Heintzelmann died (Feb. 9, 1756), and Brunnholtz (June 5, 1757), the pastoral work of the congregation devolved wholly upon him. Nov. 21, 1757, the assembled vestry—sixteen members of the congregation—elected him pastor. In March, 1758, he resigned his other engagements.

CHAPTER XXII.

1760-1761 (*continued*).

Difficulties within the Philadelphia congregation.—Need of reorganization.—Discordant parties.—Mühlenberg's presence in the congregation demanded.—He visits Philadelphia as a mediator.—Salaries of pastors and teachers.—Electing church-officers.—Need of a congregational constitution.—Adoption of the new constitution.—Wrangel's friendly co-operation.—Mühlenberg's eminent merits in the pacification and organization of the congregation.—Presiding officer of synod.

THERE is no doubt that Handschuh undertook his work as pastor of the Philadelphia congregation with an energetic will. In various directions there was ample room for improvement. In connection with the numerical increase of the membership doubtful elements also entered and discipline was lacking. To make his own position clear, in the vestry-meeting Dec. 12, 1757, he declared orally and in writing that without the knowledge of the vestry he would under no circumstances permit any one, whosoever he might be, except Mühlenberg, J. Nic. Kurtz, or Schaum, to preach in his pulpit. Nov. 21, 1757, two overseers of the poor of the congregation were appointed. It was also resolved (Dec. 12th) that a regular meeting of the vestry should be held every second month; also that on Epiphany the yearly account should be read to the congregation and the two deacons elected for the following term; also that the Lord's Supper should be solemnized every second month and on all important church festivals. On Dec. 18, 1758, it was resolved by the vestry that on New Year's Day the whole congregation should be specially admonished to begin a new and a higher spiritual life, and that it should be announced that hereafter no one given to gambling or drunkenness or impurity or strife or

cursing or dancing or dishonesty should be admitted to the Lord's Supper, and that every one found guilty of such sins would have to appear before the vestry to be disciplined. We find that cases of such a character from time to time claimed official attention.

But, while Handschuh exhibited much devotion to his pastoral office and good and energetic will, he proved, on the whole, no success, and entangled himself more and more in never-ending difficulties.

There is sufficient evidence that immediately after the death of Brunnholtz a number of members of the congregation desired Mühlenberg's return to the city to take his place as first in rank, with Handschuh as the second pastor. Handschuh, however, had ingratiated himself with the elders, and Mühlenberg, who openly declared his disinclination to renew his pastoral activity at Philadelphia, was called upon during the meeting of the elders to write the call to Handschuh, whom they had elected. When Mühlenberg stated in this call that the congregation promised to provide the necessary support for the pastor, an elder—at that time the leading man—excitedly censured him for doing this, and was not quieted by the remark that this was conformable to Christ's doctrine and customary in all properly-constituted churches, and that the pastor should not be necessitated to go begging for his support among the members of the congregation. To the question whether they considered Mühlenberg as still retaining an official relation to the congregation, as having the position of first or second pastor and the right of voting in the vestry, the same elder answered that they needed neither a first nor a second, but only one, pastor; whereupon Mühlenberg cut out of the minute-book his call and threw the sheet into the fire—also, as it seems, the call intended for Handschuh—and told the vestry that they might now write a call for the pastor elect as it suited them. When Handschuh, now called in, accepted of his election, Mühlenberg asked him whether in his formal call he wanted no reference to a stipulated salary, and received the answer, "What do you think?

To have a thought of support is carnal, worldly, irreligious. I am no hireling serving, for my stomach's sake, for filthy lucre. God preserve me against anything of the kind!" In this strain he went on. At the entreaty of the elders Mühlenberg now in a few words wrote another call according to their and Handschuh's idea, and to his own signature simply and meekly added "oldest trustee." On the following day he left the city, and paid no visit there for three years. Handschuh broke off correspondence with him, and to a letter of Mühlenberg addressed to him in kind words, in consequence of letters from Halle counselling peace and harmony, answered in a pathetic, affected manner. We omit other particulars, all clearly indicating how little Handschuh was mindful of the numerous acts of kindness and of the material assistance he had received from Mühlenberg when he was obliged to leave Lancaster, when he was embarrassed by the situation at Germantown, and when a living was procured for him in Philadelphia.

We have every reason to suppose that Mühlenberg was from the beginning convinced that the course pursued by Handschuh as pastor of the Philadelphia congregation could not lead to happy results. He well enough knew that an extravagant subjectiveness and a morbid enthusiasm will soon exhaust themselves. What a pastor needs in addition to all other requirements is a good portion of strong common sense: this was wanting in Handschuh. He tried to make himself agreeable to the elders of his vestry, who were the ruling power, but in doing this he had to defend all their actions, made himself responsible for their frequent arbitrary rulings, and alienated the more intelligent members of the congregation from himself. His efforts to stigmatize as rebels those who demanded some changes in the management of the affairs of the congregation were without effect. That some changes were very desirable cannot be denied. The elders held the offices for life or until they voluntarily resigned. Vacancies were filled by their fellow-elders, who would, of course, elect such as agreed with them. Suspicions arose that in taking care

of the congregation they took care of themselves and their friends. When, in 1759, in consequence of the increase of the membership through a fresh and powerful tide of immigration, the galleries of St. Michael's Church had to be enlarged, an addition to the existing cemetery to be bought, and in the following year, in Fourth street north of Cherry street, a parsonage and ground for the erection of a new school-house were needed, and the interest-paying debt of the congregation amounted to about two thousand four hundred pounds,—the congregation in all these weighty matters had no voice, and could only once in a year, on Epiphany Day, listen to the reading of the yearly account, while questions raised by members often received unsatisfactory answers. No doubt, Handschuh endeavored faithfully to perform his duties, but, while his zeal gained him the good opinion of many, he was more and more considered, by a portion of the membership increasing in influence, the champion of the vestry and as a strict party-man, whereby his position and his usefulness were endangered. Unfortunately, he referred to the existing difficulties in a perfectly one-sided manner in the pulpit, treated those who differed from him with coldness and distrust, and seems to have been convinced that any change in the constitution and the administration of the congregation would unavoidably lead to ruin. His behavior toward Wrangel, who could not in all things agree with him, was offensive, and Mühlenberg, who approached him in the most careful manner, he considered an enemy.

We can easily understand that Mühlenberg—whose interest in the congregation had never ceased since he had served in it, had, as *præses* of synod, a special duty toward it and thoroughly knew its history and its constituent elements—continued during his protracted absence from Philadelphia to be well informed about all the proceedings and conflicts taking place there. What he once states of all the German Lutheran congregations in their beginning in this country is eminently true. He says: "Before the second generation grew up the congregations consisted of all imaginable varieties of Germans,

from Hesse-Darmstadt, Hamburg, Dantzig, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Denmark, Hanover, Würtemberg, Zweibrücken, Durlach, Baireuth, Saxony, Brandenburg, Frankfort, Palatinate, Alsace, Frankia, Westphalia, etc. etc. And since every province, town, and village in the German empire has something of its own and special variations and turns in the church-melodies, and as some sing slowly, while others rapidly, each one thought that his manner and custom was the most proper, and made most strenuous efforts to carry through his melody and to teach the others to keep time." Now, this description suits also for conditions not directly connected with public worship. Mühlenberg was fully convinced that the Philadelphia congregation needed a new constitution and a different administration, but he was very careful not to take a party position; and even at the time when he was in his conscience necessitated no longer to be silent, but to open his mind, he as much as possible avoided all friction with the representatives of views differing from his own. Among those who were laboring for a change were large numbers of Würtembergers: when it was found out that Mühlenberg defended some of the positions taken by them, he was called the "Schwaben Pfarrer."

When, in consequence of stubbornness on the one hand and excitement on the other, things had taken such an aspect that the very existence of the congregation seemed to be endangered, Mühlenberg finally yielded to letters and petitions pouring in upon him and offered his services as a mediator. He was fully aware that the number of those who after Brunnholtz's death wanted him to be recalled to Philadelphia had since that time greatly increased. He had to avoid every appearance of a desire to remove Handschuh, but, while personally he much preferred the country, he felt that his presence in Philadelphia might prevent much evil, and that there was work enough in that steadily-growing congregation for two pastors. This was sufficiently evidenced by the fact that during the year 1762 no less than three hundred and four individuals were baptized and one hundred and forty-

eight buried. When the new constitution was adopted, in the same year, no less than seven hundred members signed it.

With the consent of the vestry, Mühlenberg paid his first visit to Philadelphia, after long-continued absence, March 12–16, 1716. On Sunday, March 15th, he preached in the morning on the "Causes of Christ's tears over Jerusalem;" in the afternoon, when the auditory was still more numerous, on a part of Josh. xxii.: "The strife and misunderstanding between the tribes of Israel; how they originated, how they were adjusted; how this was to be applied to this congregation." After the latter sermon Handschuh was in such a state of feeling that he embraced and kissed Provost Wrangel, who also was present. Unfortunately, the thermometer of Handschuh's feelings frequently fluctuated between hot and cold. In a subsequent conversation with members of the vestry Mühlenberg admonished them to forgive those who were fault-finding, to meet them with kindness, and to gain their good-will by following the example of our Lord. They said that if he would pay them more such visits peace would follow. The main result of that first visit and that first sermon in St. Michael's for some time was that the cry, "Mühlenberg must return to Philadelphia," became stronger. At a second visit (Apr. 17, 1761) Handschuh was found in a bad humor, and Mühlenberg felt inclined to return to Providence the following day, but was persuaded by two elders to preach again on Sunday, Apr. 19th. On this occasion he avoided, as before, every word which would allow a partisan interpretation. At a third visit to Philadelphia, after the meeting of synod at Lancaster, Mühlenberg, having preached twice Sunday, May 24th, persuaded the elders to give a hearing on the following day, at two o'clock P. M., to those who were dissatisfied and complaining. When he informed the complaining members of the fact he enjoined them to prepare themselves by prayer and to come with a Christian, conciliatory mind. On the following morning Handschuh exhibited much uneasiness. Mühlenberg, passing the parsonage of the Episcopal church, was called in, and found a numerous assembly of Anglican missionaries

holding their yearly meeting. They took him to the church, showed their respect for him in various ways, and were glad to have him *passive* with themselves. Mühlenberg writes: "This did no harm to me, but occasioned a report that the poor *præses ministerii* had subscribed to the Articles of the Anglican Church, though there was not a shadow of truth in it." In the afternoon the Lutheran vestry met in the parsonage with about eight of the complainants, one of which, apothecary Schneider of Würtemberg, read the points of dissatisfaction. Both parties decently refrained from showing temper. Handschuh had been advised by Mühlenberg rather to hear than to speak. After some discussion Mühlenberg requested the complainants to hand him their *gravamina* in writing, to which, in behalf of the vestry, he would give an answer. The two main points contained in the document of the complainants were that Mühlenberg should be recalled to Philadelphia as pastor, and that a proper congregational constitution should be formed. Some of the features of this new constitution were indicated. Handschuh unwisely referred to these proceedings in his sermons, and in a letter of June 3d addressed to Mühlenberg spoke of these proposed new rules and regulations as most surely leading to destruction, and of the existing condition of things as unchangeable. In this he gave the opinion of his friends in the vestry. Mühlenberg, who knew that the party demanding a change was constantly increasing, was not willing to present to the congregation the judgment given by Handschuh and his friends. The main point on which the progressive party insisted was that hereafter the elders should not serve during life, and that they should no longer have the right to fill vacancies in their number. Mühlenberg, while admitting that in bygone years much could have been said in defence of the system then prevailing, clearly saw that in the course of time abuses had crept in; that, while the growth of the congregation had increased, the financial responsibility, the power, had remained too largely in the hands of the elders, who did not feel sufficient accountability to the congregation; and that the pastors, being totally de-

pendent on the good-will of the vestry, were in danger of flattering the ruling few, and of defending all their actions even against the claims of justice.

This was exactly the situation in which Handschuh found himself. Mühlenberg could see no wrong in the demands of those in favor of progress in the congregation. With them, he was convinced that the regularly-contributing members should have the right, every two, three, or four years, to elect, by a majority of votes, a certain number of elders, and also, in consideration of their good services, to re-elect them; that pastors and parochial teachers should have sufficient fixed salaries, so as not to be forced to flatter and to beg this or that elder to advance sums in an irregular manner out of the contribution-box; and that no important transaction—such as buying or selling ground or houses, taking down or erecting buildings, incurring debt, appointing trustees, elders, pastors, or teachers—should take place without the knowledge and consent of the congregation. It was added that, as the first legitimate pastor, Mühlenberg should be recalled to Philadelphia, and that Handschuh should maintain the position as second in rank. Seeing that Handschuh and his elders and friends treated these demands simply as a monstrosity which they for conscience' sake would reject, Mühlenberg was wise enough not to communicate these symptoms of incurable stubbornness to the other party, and refrained from revisiting Philadelphia during June. He sent, however, a letter, carefully couched, to the vestrymen, who, noticing considerable agitation among the membership of the church, were not willing to lay his response before the congregation, but found it advisable specially to invite him to be present at the dedication of the new parochial school-house, which, erected in Cherry street east of Fourth, served for this end for more than one hundred and ten years; it is now used for commercial purposes. It had come to this—that Handschuh was requested by the elders to deal with Mühlenberg in a brotherly manner. When Mühlenberg (July 25th) arrived in Philadelphia, Handschuh received him kindly. Sunday, the 26th, Mühlenberg preached

in the morning in St. Michael's; in the afternoon, in the place of Wrangel, to the congregation on the west side of the Schuylkill, in English; and stayed over night with Wrangel at Wicaco, and with him came next morning to Handschuh's house, from which the vestry accompanied the pastors to the church, which was filled with young and old. Mühlenberg preached on 2 Kings ii. 19–22. After services the schoolhouse was solemnly dedicated, the children were examined by the teacher, and a collection amounting to twelve pounds three shillings was made. In the afternoon the vestry had a long discussion on the question whether Mühlenberg should be recalled to Philadelphia unitedly to labor with Handschuh. Toward evening Mühlenberg, Handschuh, and Wrangel were called into the vestry-room, and the speaker informed Mühlenberg that they had nothing to say against his returning to his former service in Philadelphia. Wrangel interposed the question whether they had nothing to say in favor of it. To this an evasive answer was given, Handschuh lowering himslf to such a depth that he said to Mühlenberg, with loud voice, before all, "You will not grow rich the first year in Philadelphia;" but was answered by an expressive silence. On the following day Mühlenberg undertook, with Wrangel, the tour before alluded to, during which they visited Tinicum Island. On Friday, July 21st, Mühlenberg paid to publisher H. Müller four pounds for some dozen copies of the English edition of Luther's Small Catechism, which Wrangel had undertaken. Two of the leading men of the progressive portion of the congregation insisted that on the following Sunday Mühlenberg should announce to the congregation that in the coming week a meeting would be held with a view to settling the existing difficulties. On Saturday, Aug. 1st, Mühlenberg, in a letter addressed to the vestry, referred to the fact that for sundry reasons they had agreed to his return in an official capacity to Philadelphia, and stated that he was willing to come on condition that he could here enjoy brotherly love, and that his other congregations would agree to it; also, that to forestall objections the members of the congregation would

be asked, in the presence of the vestry, whether or not they consented to this arrangement. He also stated what he intended to lay before the meeting of the congregation, and asked whether, in case the question of the election of elders should be raised, he should announce that such questions should be laid before the next meeting of synod, to be held here in Philadelphia, and that a carefully-prepared Christian congregational constitution, corresponding with the political liberties of this country, should be introduced in all our united congregations.

We see on what a broad basis Mühlenberg considered this whole question of a congregational constitution, and how strongly he was convinced that all his congregations needed proper organization and should also herein stand on one common ground. We also observe how carefully he proceeded, so as not to hasten a matter of such importance. He wished to receive an answer to his letter before he consented to preach on Sunday afternoon in St. Michael's. From Saturday to Sunday he stayed with Wrangel, preached at Wicaco in English, celebrated the Lord's Supper, and in the afternoon met Handschuh, who, greatly excited, used harsh words, as did also some elders, who thought a meeting of the congregation in the church would only lead to rebellion and strife. Finally, they agreed to this—that after preaching he should announce that with their consent he might re-enter his pastoral office in Philadelphia, and that whosoever had objections against this or entertained doubts as to the financial accounts of the congregation should appear on Tuesday, Aug. 4th, from eight to twelve A. M., in the school-house. This being announced after services, Mühlenberg returned Sunday evening to Wrangel. On Monday he was appointed an advising member by the Wicaco vestry, and was requested to give answer in writing to the question whether, in connection with the Swedish language, the Lutheran doctrine could advantageously be propagated in the English language. At a later time he gave an elaborate affirmative answer. In the afternoon, Wrangel being absent on official business, he read Dr.

Michaelis's paraphrase of the shorter Epistles of St. Paul, and was reminded of his meeting with that scholar nineteen years before at Ziegenhagen's in London, and also of having four years before, at Halle, received instruction from him concerning the accents in Hebrew. In later years also the works of Michaelis offered to him a peculiar interest.

Accompanied by Wrangel, Mühlenberg on Tuesday morning repaired to the school-house, which was well filled by the pastors, vestry, and membership. After prayer he announced that he was willing again to undertake his office in Philadelphia, provided they would lay aside all strife and quarrelling. Thereupon words and sentiments were exchanged, and the sharpness of personal feelings seemed to grow "beautifully less." To Mühlenberg's question whether any one here present objected to his returning to pastoral work in the city, all present, with loud voice and offering their hands, joyfully wished God's blessing. The speakers of the progressive party took occasion specially to urge that improved congregational rules of order and discipline should be introduced. Wrangel and Mühlenberg impressively entreated Handschuh to make peace with those whom he considered as doing him wrong. He solemnly affirmed his innocence and complained of the persecution he and his beloved elders had suffered, but was willing to forgive, provided the opponents would behave better. This led to various pleasant handshakings, and the meeting broke up. To show their good-will, some of the opponents accompanied Handschuh to his house. Mühlenberg, with Wrangel, paid visits to a number of families, and inspected the house which druggist Schneider intended to buy for Mühlenberg. It was situated in Vine street, and was somewhat removed from the then settled and built-up part of the city. Mühlenberg sold his house at Providence, with a portion of his land, to Surgeon Mærtens, who, however, afterward could not complete the bargain. On Wednesday, Mühlenberg and Wrangel received at Wicaco a visit from Handschuh. The following day Mühlenberg, after having taken dinner at Handschuh's, returned to Prov-

idence and entered upon the difficult task of making arrangements with his country charges concerning his moving to Philadelphia. We add that some of the adherents of Handschuh intimated to divers of the members of the congregations at Providence and New Hanover that Mühlenberg's services were not wanted at Philadelphia.

Sunday, Sept. 27th, Mühlenberg, again visiting the city, held services in St. Michael's in the morning and in the afternoon, and on the following day held a conference with Wrangel and Kurtz concerning their tour of visitation in New Jersey and New York. Amid considerable commotion in the congregations he delivered his farewell sermons—Oct. 18th, in German and English, at Providence, Oct. 25th at New Hanover. Oct. 29th he arrived with Mrs. Mühlenberg and the youngest child at Philadelphia. About six miles distant from the city five "respectable citizens" met them, and conducted them to the house which Mühlenberg had bought with the view not to lay more burden upon the vestry. That youngest child was Samuel; another son, John Charles, born Nov. 18, 1760, had died seven days after his birth. In Philadelphia three more children were born—Catharine Salome, Apr. 18, 1764; Mary Salome, July 13, 1766; Emanuel Samuel, July 11, 1769. Of these three, the first and the last died in early infancy. Samuel also was taken from his parents, Feb. 16, 1764, at the age of six years.

Mühlenberg read to the congregation (Sunday, Nov. 1st), after preaching, a document wherein he affectionately alluded to former times and experiences, to the laborious and faithful services of the elders—some of whom were still living—during the erection of St. Michael's Church, to the causes which had moved him again to begin his work in this congregation, and offered his services to all who might desire them. Of course, no one knowing human nature could ever expect that the strife for years existing between the parties, the frictions among individuals who misunderstood, misrepresented, and mistrusted one another, and the settled differences of opinion on grave points, would at once come to an end. Unfortunately,

the press had been used to make the difficulties of the congregation still more public—a thing against which Mühlenberg protested in the strongest terms. There is no doubt that his presence and personal influence often prevented the outbreak of passion, and that by his unselfish and unbiassed deportment he commanded universal respect. It came to pass that on Epiphany (Jan. 6, 1762), when the yearly financial report was read to the congregation, and also H. Keppele, treasurer, had read the account of the building of the school-house, Mühlenberg was able to quiet those members who found much fault with the vestry for not having asked the consent of the congregation to such an undertaking. He convinced them that the building of the school-house and of the parsonage in which Handschuh then—Mühlenberg afterward—resided had been unavoidable, and that the school should never be separated from the church; to all of which all finally gave their assent. Subsequently, in a vestry-meeting held Jan. 12th, to which Wrangel and some other impartial friends were specially invited, Mühlenberg, after referring to the necessity of maintaining peace and harmony of action, proposed that a congregational order or constitution agreeing with the laws of the province should be framed for the united Evangelical congregations—not, however, without due consideration, repeated deliberation and revision, and full examination in all its parts—and that it be published. He also stated that some of the elders had for some years been moving in this direction at the meetings of synod. To all this the impartial friends and some of the elders of the congregation added their explanations, and finally it was unanimously resolved to introduce a new congregational order or constitution. This being finished, various disagreements and personal offences were discussed in proper spirit, hands were again shaken as a pledge of reconciliation, tears also were not wanting, and at last, after all was properly finished, every one went his way rejoicing. Of the resolutions passed at that vestry-meeting Mühlenberg gave notice on the subsequent Sunday to an unusually large assembly in St. Michael's.

That the burden of framing the congregational constitution would be laid upon Mühlenberg was to be expected. We are assured that he went to work with a prayerful mind, that he examined constitutions in use in various churches, and that he discussed point after point with Wrangel, Handschuh, and other friends. The sketch of a constitution drawn up by Brunnholtz and himself in 1753 (the year of the revolution in the Germantown congregation) he laid (April 14th) before the vestry, and they promised to take it into consideration. It seems that Mühlenberg, moved by good reasons, did not bring up this subject before the synodical meeting held June 27–29, 1762, at Philadelphia. Finally (Oct. 17th), he informed the congregation that with the co-operation of Provost Wrangel, the two pastors, and the whole vestry the long-desired and needed congregational constitution was now prepared, and that it was of such a character "that it might without any fears be laid before God, all Christendom, and all the congregations in this country, since it had in view the honor of God, the best interests of the congregation, and the promotion of peace, order, and harmony in the same, and since it was calculated to extend among us the comforting gospel and the holy sacraments, and to make them the possession of our children, provided that we give room within us to God's grace and the influence of his Spirit and do not trifle with our soul's salvation." He added that, in agreement with the promise already made to have this new constitution, as was right, properly and distinctly read to the congregation, the pastors, elders, and deacons request all those members of St. Michael's who already had been admitted to the Lord's Supper to appear to-morrow morning at ten o'clock in the church to hear first a short admonition and then the reading of the constitution. He also warned them that the house of God was no place for strife or altercation, neither would God's servants and children indulge in such. The great object was to have and to preserve in the congregation peace, unity, conciliation, order. He wanted every one who intended to come first to offer his private prayer to God, and to bring to the

house of God a sober, quiet, peaceful mind. He requested all godly mothers, widows, and orphans to bring their supplications to the throne of mercy during the transaction, that God, the heavenly Father, for Christ's sake, might crown the day with his blessings, "to the end that in our country—especially among us Germans as strangers—the honor of God may be promoted, piety and faith dwell, and righteousness and peace embrace and kiss each other. Amen."

On the following day Wrangel accompanied Mühlenberg to the church, which was filled with men, among whom was a sprinkling of women and children. After the first hymn Wrangel read the twenty-fourth chapter of Joshua. When giving out the second hymn, "Commit thou all thy griefs and ways into His hand," Mühlenberg stated that at the laying of the first stone of this church-building (1743) this same hymn was sung. After singing, the provost made a very impressive address on Phil. ii. 1–4. Finally, after prayers, Mühlenberg dismissed the women and the children, and then with loud and distinct voice read the constitution. Having finished, he did not hesitate to say that, for one, he was now going to sign his name, and in case of need for it sacrifice his last hour, just as it might please God: any one who was of one mind with him should now do the same. He then signed his name to the document. Handschuh followed next, then the elders and the deacons, and, pressing forward, more than two hundred and seventy members subscribed their names. Many left because the transaction occupied too much time; they were subsequently given occasion to sign. In the aggregate, the names of about five hundred heads of families were in a short time entered.

If in his whole life Mühlenberg had done nothing else of a remarkable character, the framing and introduction of this constitution in the Philadelphia congregation would suffice to crown his head with lasting honor. He braved the storms of passion previously raging in that congregation. With wonderful skill he controlled the two parties arrayed against each other. He fully acknowledged the rights of the Christian

congregation as such in the election of pastors, vestrymen, and other officers and in the decision of all questions of importance. But he was not inclined to make the vestry simply a committee to do the bidding of any number of members meeting *ad libitum* and arbitrarily decreeing one thing and another. He clothed the board of officers, to whom the pastors belonged *ex officio*, with proper rights, even retaining during life or until resignation the twelve trustees and elders then in office; and, above all, he guarded the confessional and doctrinal position of the congregation in terms as decisive and strong as such a popular document demands. When, three years later, the congregation received its charter from the provincial government, the vestry were made a corporation legally to transact business in behalf of the congregation, and therein exercising freedom within certain well-defined limits. The constitution, ratified Oct. 18, 1762, was in that document embodied under the title "Fundamental Articles." Later, additional acts in no way changed these fundamental articles. Under this charter and constitution the congregation has now been living for one century and a quarter. Taken all in all, a better one could not be given to it. Mühlenberg could not foresee that a Supreme Court of Pennsylvania would give to the words touching qualification for membership, and among other points saying that those who claim rights of membership must "take the Lord's Supper with this congregation," the interpretation "whosoever there *once* communed." In 1791 the "Fundamental Articles" were in some minor points, such as the mode of the election of a pastor, changed, but none of the essential features of the document were thereby affected. It was adopted by many congregations in Pennsylvania or was the model after which they framed their constitutions. In Halle the new constitution was added in its original form to the tenth continuation of the *Halle Reports*.

When synod met in Philadelphia (June 27–29, 1762), Mühlenberg's request not to be re-elected præses was not granted: he was told that he was wanted in that responsible and honor-

able position until the congregations were brought to order. When, in spite of his decided remonstrance at the synodical meeting of the following year (Oct. 19th), he was again elected "præses" and the brethren congratulating him offered their hands, he refused to take them. Certainly, he had in those times work enough on hand in taking care of the field of labor in Philadelphia and of his country congregations, among which he made it a rule to appear at least once in six weeks, and for the rest had undertaken to provide for them as best he could. But synod had no man who could command the respect which he enjoyed among all the congregations, and who could exercise an equally strong and happy influence. At the meeting of synod in 1762 two Swedish pastors—A. Borell of Wilmington and J. Wicksell from Raccoon, N. J.—were present besides Wrangel, and all three actively participated in the German public services. J. Sam. Schwerdfeger, whom we mentioned on a former occasion, was at that meeting of synod received into the ministerium. He underwent an examination and laid satisfactory testimonials before synod. It appears that he was ordained, not in Europe, but by some "orthodox" pastors in this country; which ordination synod acknowledged. These pastors seemed to have been stationed in the neighborhood of York, but were not members of synod. The ordination may have taken place soon after Schwerdfeger's arrival in this country.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1762 et seq.

New York and Germantown claim the attention of synod.—J. N. Kurtz for a time at Germantown.—Rev. J. A. Krug and Rev. J. L. Voigt arrive.—Voigt elected pastor at Germantown.—The congregation reunited with synod.—Succeeding pastors.—Arrival of Rev. J. Fr. Schmidt and Rev. J. H. Chr. Helmuth.—Origin of St. Peter's Church at Barren Hill.—Difficulties in its progress.—Mühlenberg's embarrassment and release.—The Solms-Roedelsheim legacy.—Mühlenberg's plan to establish an orphan-house and a seminary for the education of pastors.—His care of all the congregations connected with synod.—Repeated visits at Reading, Tulpehoken, Cohansey, the Raritan, and other congregations.—J. G. Jung.—Christian Streit.—Baron Stiegel.—Rev. J. G. Bager.—Rev. Chas. F. Wildbahn.—Extent of synod.—J. C. Stoever in membership with synod.

AMONG the subjects engaging the attention of the synodical meeting in 1762 was the condition of the German Lutheran congregations at New York and at Germantown. Rev. J. S. Gerock was prevailed upon to pay a visit to New York which subsequently led to his being called there, as we formerly learned. The Germantown congregation, as we know, was from 1753 divided into two parts. The smaller one, remaining faithful to Handschuh and the synod during the congregational revolution going on there, had been attended to, after Handschuh's removal to Philadelphia, as well as the Philadelphia and other pastors could do it. In the other congregation, which was under the care—or the carelessness—first of Andreæ, afterward of Rapp, and which had possession of the church and the parsonage, in the course of years a reaction began to take place. It seems that some of the members of Rapp's party joined the other and better side. At the synod of 1762 more than one hundred Lutheran families of Germantown and the neighborhood petitioned for a

pastor and regular services. Synod, fully understanding the importance of the situation, resolved to send J. N. Kurtz there as the proper man at that time to take charge of the Lutheran interests at Germantown. Mühlenberg himself laid (June 26th) the case before the Tulpehoken congregation, who were opposed to Kurtz leaving them, and succeeded in receiving their assent to the temporary absence of their beloved pastor; they also resolved to leave the parsonage unoccupied during the interval. After some time, however, J. N. Kurtz's younger brother, William, whom we met before, moved into it, and served the congregation during his brother's absence. He had from 1745 to 1750 been educated in the Halle Orphan-House, and had then until 1754 attended the Halle University lectures on various branches of theology. We know that after his arrival in this country, in 1754, he was for a time under Mühlenberg's tuition, in 1757 began pastoral labors at Tohicon, was ordained at the synodical meeting at Lancaster in 1761, and entered in 1763 upon his work as pastor at New Holland and its vicinity.

Surely, J. N. Kurtz performed a good work at Germantown. The genuine Lutheran elements there took courage. The German Reformed congregation kindly granted to such Lutherans the free use of their house of worship whenever circumstances permitted. But it needed the strong arm of the civil court to settle some of the questions at issue between the two parties. It seems that some of those who for a number of years had held to Rapp, but now forsook him in disgust, claimed the right of burying in the cemetery belonging to the church; this right Rapp and his adherents disputed. The controversy became so exciting that the opponents of Rapp formed the plan of forcibly ejecting him from the church and the pulpit on a Sunday; which plan did not at all meet with the assent of Mühlenberg. The questions laid before court embraced the right not only to use the cemetery, but also the use of the church. The decision given April 12, 1763, granted to the petitioners the right to have possession of the key and to be entitled to use the church mornings and afternoons alter-

nately with the other party. Sunday, April 17th, in the afternoon, Mühlenberg, though he had been informed that some ill-willed people intended grossly to insult him, went to the Germantown church and preached there. He preached again on Sunday morning, April 24th, to a very large and attentive assembly. The difficulties, however, were not totally removed by the decision of the court. Each party wanted to have sole and exclusive possession. March 27, 1765, Mühlenberg learned that both sides had agreed to submit the matter to four arbitrators. The final decision came when, July 12, 1765, both parties, in consequence of an agreement, held an election in the presence of two justices of the peace. The candidates nominated were Rapp and Rev. J. L. Voigt. The latter had arrived, with Rev. J. A. Krug, from Halle, April 1, 1764, and in June of the same year had been appointed by Mühlenberg, præses of synod, to serve the Lutherans at Germantown and at Barren Hill, a locality which we shall hereafter mention. The result of the election—which result surprised the whole community—was that Rapp did not receive one vote, while one hundred and thirty-five heads of families elected Voigt. This ended Rapp's scandalous career in Germantown. Now the Lutherans deserving this name were again in legitimate possession of the church. J. Nich. Kurtz had returned to Tulpehoken. Voigt at once began his labors in the Germantown congregation, but continued only until Dec. 8th of the same year, when he moved to New Hanover, and served also Zion Church, west of the Schuylkill, formerly under the care of Jacob van Buskirk, who in December, 1765, took Voigt's place at Germantown. Already in May, 1763, J. N. Kurtz, then stationed at Germantown and Barren Hill, reported to Mühlenberg, on his return from a visit to his country congregations, that by his agency, assisted by Provost Wrangel, the conservative, faithful part of the Germantown congregation had been moved to adopt and subscribe to the constitution adopted in St. Michael's. The successor of Van Buskirk from 1769 to 1786 was Rev. John Fr. Schmidt (born 1746), who with his devoted friend, Rev. Justus H. Chr. Helmuth

(born 1745), had arrived in this country from Halle April 2, 1769. Under him as a pastor the congregation increased, though the times were warlike and Germantown (Oct. 7, 1777) became the field of battle. During this stormy period Schmidt had to leave Germantown. Mühlenberg says in his diary (Jan. 21, 1778): "We had a welcome visit from our brother, Rev. Schmidt, formerly pastor at Germantown, but for some time without any engagement and a fugitive, his congregation being scattered and deprived of their means of subsistence. Schmidt sojourns with his family at the present time at Upper Milford, in the house of a Jew converted to Christianity and baptized. He narrates to us various dreadful and distressing events." It was the time during the war when the English had temporarily made themselves masters of Philadelphia. Schmidt, having returned to Germantown after their retreat, greatly encouraged his people and took care of a number of outposts. When, in 1784, Dr. Kunze was called to New York, Dr. Schmidt was elected Dr. Helmuth's colaborer in the Philadelphia congregation, and with him fraternally continued to do the work of the common Master until May 16, 1812, when he was called to his rest. Helmuth was considered the more powerful and popular preacher; Schmidt was a man of profound scholarship in theology, literature, and languages; both received the title of D. D. from the University of Pennsylvania. Helmuth resigned his office—which he had held forty years—in 1820, and died in 1825. Schmidt's successor at Germantown was Rev. J. F. Weinland, born at Roemhild in Prussian Saxony. After studying theology at Halle (1769–72) and serving as private tutor and assistant preacher he was sent in 1783 to Pennsylvania by the directors of the Halle institution, the last missionary sent from that place. He left Germantown in 1789, served (1789–95) at New Hanover, and became involved in difficulties, and after that his name disappears from the ministerial list. His successor at Germantown for a period of twenty-two years was Rev. Fred. Dav. Schaeffer, after the death of Schmidt called to the Philadelphia congregation. During his

official term at Germantown the English language occasionally came into use in the public services of the congregation.

The disturbance of the Germantown congregation during 1753 led to the formation of a new Lutheran congregation near Whitemarsh, about twelve miles north of Philadelphia, where, on a sandy hill called Barren Hill, a church, St. Peter's, was erected, which gave unexpected anxiety and distress to Mühlenberg and some of his friends. In that neighborhood Germans had been settled for a number of years; some of them had been in the membership of the Germantown church. When, in 1755, Handschuh moved to Philadelphia and no hope was entertained that the Germantown congregation—then, under Rapp, having possession of the church-building and the cemetery—would ever return to the synod or be reunited with the Philadelphia congregation, some Lutheran and German Reformed families bought on that sandy hill, where the roads from Philadelphia and Germantown meet, an acre of land for the erection of a school-house and for a place of burial. The deed is dated May 14, 1758. Both parties united in building the school-house, which was used not only for school purposes, but occasionally for public services held by Lutheran pastors. Some heads of families, formerly elders of Germantown, attached themselves to this new enterprise. It was soon discovered that the school-house was entirely too small for public services. In 1759, Christopher Raben of Whitemarsh, Wighard Müller, and Chr. Jacobi of Germantown informed Mühlenberg at Providence that they intended to erect at Barren Hill a church which was to be under synod and in connection with the Philadelphia congregation. They expected financial assistance from Europe, but were told that from that source they could at the utmost receive, possibly, fifty pounds. Chr. Raben bought an additional piece of ground (not quite an acre), elected Rich. Peters, Wrangel, Mühlenberg, and other gentlemen—some of them formerly members of the Germantown congregation—trustees, transferred the deed to them, and appointed the parochial teacher, Selig, accountant for the building expenses. The

erection of the church began, but at the same time the clamor for money. Mühlenberg was the man who was expected to help by sending through the united congregations collecting-agents with testimonials given by him. In the building of the church the Reformed had no share. Under pressing necessity Raben and three of his associates created, June 30, 1760, an interest-bearing debt of one hundred pounds, and June 4, 1761, another debt, of two hundred pounds. Before the roof was put on the building Mühlenberg and Wrangel were urged time and again to preach between the bare walls. Raben tried to help himself out of his difficulties by the instrumentality of a lottery—in those times a means often used to raise funds with which to erect houses of worship. He realized thereby about fifty pounds. In 1763 the church was under roof, but the debts had increased and there was no security for their payment. When (June 11, 1764) Raben and Selig laid the whole account before the trustees, no one was willing to make himself responsible for the debt. Public services were continued by Wrangel and Mühlenberg, and, the attendance being large, an impression was thereby made upon the decreasing Rapp party at Germantown, about six miles distant, and the credit of the Halle pastors began to rise. When, in February, 1765, one of the creditors wanted his loan of two hundred returned, and other debts were to be paid, another loan, of three hundred pounds, was made in Philadelphia, for which Henry Keppele gave bonds. There was now an interest-bearing debt of four hundred pounds, to which other obligations—for building material, etc.—had to be added. When the Germantown congregation was again united with synod, a number of members who for a time had assisted Barren Hill returned to their former congregation, which was nearer to their homes. This increased the Barren Hill difficulties. Raben and his friends thought of extricating themselves by sending a church-officer and the teacher Selig as collecting-agents to Europe, and to strengthen their bonds by recommendations to England through Rich. Peters, to Sweden through Wrangel, to Germany through Mühlen-

berg, and by testimonials from the governor of Pennsylvania. At a conference held in Philadelphia, March 1, 1765, the preliminaries for this plan, inclusive of a constitution of the congregation, were resolved upon, and Raben and his friends rejoiced; but a reaction set in, and for various and strong reasons the plan was dropped. Another meeting took place Mar. 13, 1765. With tears in their eyes Raben and his associates insisted upon the carrying out of the collecting-plan, and Raben finally made the threat that unless he was extricated from his embarrassing condition he would sell the church to "any sect, even to the Papists." Finally, in this crisis Keppele, Wrangel, and Mühlenberg each obligated himself for one-third of the debt. Of course this noble act caused much rejoicing at Barren Hill. Mühlenberg addressed Rich. Peters, then in England, also Ziegenhagen at London, Francke at Halle, and others, in behalf of the needy congregation at Barren Hill. A collection in the Anglican Church for a non-conformist congregation was not allowed in England, but the archbishop of Canterbury sent twenty guineas out of his private means. In the Lutheran churches at London impediments were found, and in Sweden some prejudices had been excited against Wrangel, who made his appeals there through letters sent by pastors under his own superintendence. Mühlenberg was greatly embarrassed by a Reformed creditor who in 1766 wished his loan of one hundred pounds, with fifteen pounds' interest, paid to him, and threatened to bring the matter before court. Under these circumstances Mühlenberg had a transfer made of the ground and buildings at Barren Hill by deed to St. Michael's corporation at Philadelphia, so as to afford a legal protection. On Dec. 9, 1766, Mühlenberg was obliged to borrow one hundred and twelve pounds on his own personal responsibility to pay the Reformed claimant. He had even considered the advisability of satisfying the claims against him as one of the bondsmen with the rest of his wife's paternal inheritance; but Mrs. Mühlenberg—who most probably was not ignorant of the fact that already in May, 1762, no less than three hundred pounds of

her inheritance from her father, Conrad Weiser, had been consumed for the support of the family—very properly interposed the claims of her children, and in this just view of the case would not be moved even by her husband's quoting, "Take they then our life, goods, fame, child, and wife," but on her part quoted verses and gospel words in reply. Wrangel was at that time engaged in building two churches, at Kingsessing and Upper Merion, and H. Keppele was heavily burdened by the very expensive building of Zion Church, then undertaken by the Philadelphia congregation. Some of the creditors had already given into the hands of lawyers the obligations held by them. A lawsuit was averted by H. Keppele, who in June, 1768, liberally satisfied some of the most pressing claims. Mühlenberg and his friends paid the interest of other debts, and by united efforts removed some of the smaller obligations.

It is doubtful how long they would have been able to keep the enemy from their doors. Creditors could unite and at once bring calamity upon the men who, moved by most liberal and Christian principles, had taken a great responsibility upon themselves. In those times debtors, though without any moral blemish upon their character, could be sent to prison. But the darkest night is followed by the light of morning. Mühlenberg had frequently sent petitions to Halle in behalf of Barren Hill. The answer was that the money collected for the Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania had in these years been used to pay the travelling expenses to America of the missionaries Voigt, Krug, and Chr. Em. Schulze; there was no money for Barren Hill. But during that year (1768) ninety pounds' worth of the widely-celebrated Halle medicines came to Mühlenberg, with the direction to give of the proceeds sixty pounds as a Halle contribution to the building of Zion Church at Philadelphia, and thirty pounds to extinguish in part the Barren Hill debts. This was some glimmer of help much prayed for, and, indeed, an earnest of better things to come. Aug. 4, 1768, Mühlenberg received from good old Ziegenhagen in London a draft for one hundred pounds

sterling, payable at sight in Philadelphia. Now he could discharge his own obligations and those of his friend H. Keppele. When in his diary Mühlenberg arrives at this point in his narrative, he breaks out in praises and thanks to God, who hears the prayers and remembers the cares and anxieties of his children. But not all the burden resulting from the Barren Hill enterprise, carried out by well-meaning men in an inconsiderate manner, was taken away by this most timely assistance: there was yet an interest-bearing debt of three hundred pounds. This difficulty, however, was also relieved in a most unexpected manner. It appears that the Fathers at Halle had told a godly German nobleman, Count Solms-Roedelsheim, of the embarrassed condition in which Mühlenberg and his friends found themselves in consequence of their connection with Barren Hill. Moved by the good Spirit from on high, the count set apart, of a donation of thirteen thousand florins intended for the relief of well-approved indigent Lutheran pastors and teachers in Pennsylvania, and to be safely invested for this purpose, three thousand florins, for the purpose that with this sum—amounting to about two hundred and eighty-four pounds sterling—the Barren Hill obligations should be satisfied, and that Mühlenberg, his wife, and his children, should be entirely relieved of all further claims in that matter. The remaining sum, fifty-eight pounds, was by Mühlenberg applied to other interests of the Church needing charitable attention. To prove that the sympathy and the active liberality of the Fathers in London and Halle, of the noble-minded count, and of other Christian friends beyond the Atlantic were fully appreciated on this side of the ocean, the St. Michael and Zion corporation formally assigned, for the period of ninety-nine years (Jan. 14, 1771), all the ground, buildings, and appurtenances of the Lutheran church property at Barren Hill to Ziegenhagen and the Rev. Gust. Burgmann at London, and to the doctors and directors, Geo. Knapp (G. A. Francke had died Sept. 2, 1769) and A. Freylinghausen, at Halle, for an orphan-house and school to be established there, and for Lutheran church ser-

vices. It was for a long time in the mind of Mühlenberg to establish an orphan-house, and at the same time to use it for the education and the preparation of young men for the ministerial office. He also thought that old and decrepit pastors might find a refuge in such an institution. That the plan was not executed was not his fault. The Barren Hill congregation was served at first by Mühlenberg and Wrangel—in connection with Germantown by J. N. Kurtz, Voigt, and Schmidt. Fred. Dav. Schaeffer, D. D., served Germantown, Barren Hill, Frankford, White Plain, and Upper Dublin. Barren Hill is now in connection with the Synod of East Pennsylvania.

While seriously engaged with the care of the Philadelphia charge, Mühlenberg kept a watchful eye upon all the churches connected with synod. In this he not only performed his duty as præses of synod, but followed also the inclination of his heart. If of any one we might say that he was born a missionary, we can say it of him. From time to time, as he had promised, he paid visits to his country congregations, which would not formally release him from his obligations to them. From these he extended, as circumstances required, his tours to Reading and Tulpehoken. He also visited the Lutherans at Cohansey in New Jersey. In 1767 (Apr. 23d) he left Philadelphia and visited the congregations at New Germantown and Bedminster in New Jersey, and Friday, May 1st, was present in New York at the dedication of Christ Church, erected by the Germans, who at that time had extended a call to Gerock. Sunday, May 3d, Mühlenberg preached in the new church on Gen. xxii. 7, 8; on Tuesday, May 3d, in the old Dutch church; left New York the following day; paid another visit to Bedminster, New Germantown, and "In the Valley;" preached in German and in English, and administered the Lord's Supper to these congregations, which then were vacant, Prizelius having left them in 1766. They tried their best to persuade Mühlenberg to come and spend his old age with them; they even gave him a regular call. Friday, May 15th, he returned to Philadelphia. Again he paid a visit to these New Jersey congregations in February,

1769, when his oldest son, Peter, was there as a beginner in ministerial work; on this occasion the son read the Liturgy and his father preached. Peter had won golden opinions, and was unanimously demanded as his father's substitute in the charge. When, in consequence of a call from Virginia in the spring of 1772, Peter had gone to England to receive Episcopal ordination (whereof we shall speak hereafter), his father visited this field in May of that year. His third son, Henry Ernest, had for some weeks instructed there a class of catechumens, and the father now came to finish the course, to examine and confirm them. He also wanted to be released from all further responsibility concerning these congregations, and proposed to them, as pastor, Gerock, then involved in difficulties at New York. Van Buskirk, also J. Geo. Jung, sent from London by the Rev. Dr. Wachsel (1768), ordained 1770, and Christian Streit, born in New Jersey some miles distant from New Germantown, educated at Philadelphia, and there prepared by Mühlenberg and Wrangel for the sacred office, after being licensed (1769) by synod, serving during ten years the Lutheran church at Easton, paid them visits. But it appears that the services of none of these men were acceptable. On this tour Mühlenberg was accompanied by one of his daughters, who unfortunately suffered an acute attack of fever. This occasions his remark: "When I had my home in the country my children ran about barefooted and were used to rough ways of living; but since I live in the city they are reared rather delicately, can no longer endure joltings when riding in country wagons and the many changes of the weather, and their wings droop like those of turkeys when they get wet." But he hurried to see and to comfort his sick child. With her he returned (May 11th) to Philadelphia. In 1762 (Feb. 16th until March 8th) Mühlenberg, during an unusually cold season, visited Providence, New Hanover, Reading—where he had intercourse with his relatives and the Rev. B. M. Hausihl—also Heidelberg, Tulpehoken, Lebanon, the iron-works of Henry William Stiegel (called Elizabeth Furnace), and Conestoga. In most of these

places he delivered sermons and attended to other pastoral duties. On account of the eccentricities of his character Baron Stiegel, as he was called, deserves special mention. He was a member of the Lutheran Church, appeared as a delegate at synod, and took care of the spiritual wants of the many who were in his employ by erecting a church for them and endeavoring to supply them with pastoral services. It is said that he was born at Mannheim on the Rhine. About his former life nothing is known, but his manners indicated that he had moved in well-bred society. When, in 1758, he appeared in Lancaster county, Pa., he established Mannheim on a tract of land bought by him, and besides extensive glass-works, built for himself a splendid mansion, and in connection with the latter a chapel, in which he himself "was accustomed to conduct divine worship for those in his employ." He also built in Lebanon county, six miles from Schaefferstown, an iron-furnace, and named it, in honor of his wife, Elizabeth. He is said to have driven a team of eight fine horses, to have been accompanied on his journeys by a band of musicians, and to have had a cannon fired whenever he visited his furnaces or returned home. The impression the man and his whole bearing made upon the simple-minded, rigoristic Mennonites and other sects in his neighborhood is reflected in these legends. But, with all this, he was a practical character, and for a time was financially successful. Perhaps undertaking too much in consequence of the disturbance of the provincial trade by the unhappy relations with England, he was overwhelmed by misfortune and put in prison as an insolvent debtor, but was set free (Dec. 24, 1774) by a special act of the legislature. Yet in 1783 we trace him to Heidelberg, Berks county, Pa. His further history is shrouded in obscurity, the vague rumors of his having at last served as schoolmaster or having died in the poorhouse not being substantiated.

When the dedication of the new church-building at York took place (Sept. 17, 1762), Mühlenberg, though præses of synod, was glad that his friend Provost Wrangel consented

to be present, as it would have been very unpleasant to him then to appear in that locality. Rev. Raus, of whom we formerly heard, was at that time pastor of the York congregation. Prejudiced as he was against Mühlenberg, who in various ways had benefited him, he had in 1761, at the meeting of synod at Lancaster, lodged against Mühlenberg charges of heterodoxy and misconduct, which, as we formerly mentioned, were handed to Wrangel and Borell as an investigating committee. In an elaborate refutation in writing, still extant, with just and manly indignation and in a perfectly dignified manner Mühlenberg shows the palpable and gross injustice done him by Raus, who persisted in his wrong. His name was then stricken from the roll of synod; he lost also, in 1763, his position as pastor of the York church. After the act of dedication at York, Wrangel took occasion to extend his tour to Carlisle, thence to Quitopohilla (Steitstown, later Lebanon), and Swatara Cave (Atolheo, Rehrersburg), and, returning, to preach at Tulpehoken and at Molatton. In the following month the congregational constitution was adopted at Philadelphia. Oct. 22d, Mühlenberg received an invitation to preach in the Episcopal St. Paul's Church, whose pastor, William Macclenachan, already known to us, was then sick. In consequence of his methodistic proclivities he had moved a portion of Christ Church to separate from the mother-congregation and to build St. Paul's, in Third street south of Walnut. Mühlenberg laid the invitation before the vestry of St. Michael's, and it was politely and wisely declined.

On Dec. 18, 1765, Mühlenberg was visited by the Rev. John Geo. Bager, who was born March 29, 1725, at Niederlinxweiler, in Nassau-Saarbrücken, had prepared himself for the sacred office at Halle University, and after doing some pastoral service in Germany had arrived at Philadelphia (Oct. 23, 1752) and settled at Conewago (sometimes identified with McAllistertown, later Hanover, York county, Pa.). In that region Rev. David Candler, as we formerly learned, had settled in 1743, and begun—first in his house, then in a log church erected next to it—pastoral work and the organization

of a Lutheran congregation, but had died in the year 1744. After his decease the Moravian Nyberg tried to creep in there as a pseudo-Lutheran, but met with opposition. In 1747, Mühlenberg found the Lutherans there in complete disorder. Val. Kraft, having succeeded Nyberg in that locality, was not calculated to improve the condition. In his presence Handschuh preached there (June 2, 1748); he also made arrangements that Schaum, whom May 30th of the same year he installed at York, should preach there every fourth Sunday, wherein Schaum appears to have continued until 1752, when Bager, who first had settled at Quitopohilla, was (Dec. 16th) elected pastor, and, March 10, 1753, entered upon that field of labor. He continued serving there until the arrival of Raus, at the same time serving at York those Lutherans who there were still attached to Schaum, until, in 1763, he followed a call to the German Lutheran congregation at New York, where during his term the erection of Christ Church (Old Swamp Church) was commenced. In 1767 he accepted a call to York, and two years later returned to his first field of labor in this country, which during his absence had been served by Rev. Chas. Fred. Wildbahn, who, licensed in 1762, resided in that region until in 1782 he was called to Reading. Bager, who also was a member of the ministerium, served a number of neighboring churches, and (1777–85) again that at Hanover. He departed this life June 9, 1791.

Mühlenberg's frequent absences from his Philadelphia pulpit evoked some murmurings. On Sunday, April 17, 1763, he preached in the morning at Barren Hill, and in the afternoon, for the first time after ten years in consequence of the decree of the civil court in behalf of the original Lutheran congregation, and as præses of synod again opened services in the Lutheran church at Germantown. On the following Sunday morning (Apr. 24th) he again preached there before a very large audience; and when, in the afternoon, he found St. Michael's Church at Philadelphia crowded, he took occasion before preaching to refer to the murmurings by narrating to the assembly the story of the man who on his way to Jericho

had fallen into the hands of thieves and then into those of the Samaritan. There was in this an irony which very well suited the man who had absented himself from home, not to seek his own comfort, but to do the work of the King, which at that time especially demanded haste.

When, in June, 1763, Mühlenberg paid visits to his country congregations, still under his supervision, he proceeded to Reading and Tulpehoken. In this latter place he had to quiet the minds of the people, dissatisfied with the protracted absence of their pastor, J. N. Kurtz, at Germantown. It was resolved that J. N. Kurtz should not be allowed to resign, but should at the usual times come and celebrate the Lord's Supper; that his brother William should attend to the ordinary Sunday services and *casualia;* and that the united pastors not living at too great a distance should from time to time visit there. During such excursions into the country Mühlenberg made it a point to pay special attention to families and to individuals who had shown their fidelity to the Church and derived in sickness or other distress comfort from his visits, exhortations, and prayers.

In August of the same year he visited the Lutherans at Cohansey, N. J. When he preached there (Aug. 6th), people came from a distance of ten and fifteen miles. He also held the Lord's Supper on Sunday, Aug. 7th; but before this solemn act he had to baptize no less than twenty-two little children whom parents and friends had brought in that destitute region from far and near, and who now in that overcrowded church annoyingly cried at the top of their voices. On the 19th of the same month he left Philadelphia for Providence, preached there Sunday, the 21st, in German and in English, and celebrated the Lord's Supper. Mrs. Mühlenberg, who had accompanied him, left Monday, the 22d, on horseback for Philadelphia; he, with Catechist Van Buskirk, went to New Hanover, preached there on Tuesday to a large assembly, and started the following day for Reading, where he had to listen to much complaint on account of Hausihl's intended departure for Easton. Mühlenberg pitied the people, who, though

beginners, had liberally erected a church and a school-house, sustained pastor and teacher, built an expensive wall around the cemetery, and now wanted him to come to them and after twenty-one years of hard labor to stay among them and devote himself to the supervision of his family. His mother-in-law and other relatives were settled at Reading. Aug. 27th he rode on horseback twenty miles to Tulpehoken, preached there Sunday, the 28th; rode in the afternoon, returning, seven miles to Heidelberg, held services there; and in the evening came again to Reading. Here the vestry handed him a petition to the Fathers in Europe to send them a pastor. Sept. 2d he returned to Philadelphia. Oct. 12th we find him again at New Hanover, where he and J. N. Kurtz, his fellow-traveller, met Wrangel and Hegeblad. In agreement with the desires of the congregation, Van Buskirk was then and there ordained a *diaconus*, or assistant pastor.

Oct. 17th–19th of that same year (1763), synod met in Philadelphia, where Philadelphia, Germantown, Barren Hill, Lancaster, York, Fredericktown (in Md.), Providence, New Hanover, Reading, Tulpehoken, New Germantown and Bedminster (N. J.), New York (German and Dutch congregations), Hackensack, Remmerspach, Wahlkiel (N. J.), Rhinebeck, Camp, Statesbury, Claverack (N. Y.), Earltown, Conestoga, Muddy Creek, Easton, Greenwich (N. J.), Macungie, Heidelberg, Jordan, Indianfield, Saccum, Upper Dublin, Upper Milford, Allentown, Cohansey, Oley, and Whitendahl, were acknowledged as belonging to the united congregations. Letters and petitions came from Conewago, Manchester, Paradise; also from Winchester (Va.). Diaconus Joseph Roth, successor of Raus in Old Goshenhoppen and vicinity, was serving in an acceptable manner at Indianfield, Saccum, and Upper Milford, but died in May, 1764. J. C. Stoever also, whose former associate, Tobias Wagner, had in 1759, with his wife and one daughter, returned to Germany, was at that synodical meeting received into the ministerium. Whitefield also, who then visited Philadelphia, was invited by a committee of synod (Oct. 18th) to be present at the

public examination of the children of the parochial school in St. Michael's. He accepted the invitation, and, though in very feeble health, ascended the pulpit, prayed, and addressed the children, and gave also to the parents words of admonition. A number of Episcopal and Presbyterian clergymen were present, and the church was crowded with English and with German people. Wrangel and Mühlenberg examined the children.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1762 et seq. (*continued*).

Pietism and Methodism.—Lutheranism and Episcopalianism.—Progress of the Philadelphia congregation.—Mühlenberg on confirmation.—Relation to politics.—He sends his three sons to Halle.—Handschuh's death.—German Benevolent Society of Pennsylvania.—Erection of Zion Church, Philadelphia.—Flourishing condition of the congregation.—Arrival of Chr. Em. Schulze.—He is Mühlenberg's colaborer in Philadelphia.—He follows a call to Tulpehoken.—Career of Krug, Voigt, Schmidt, Helmuth.—Struggle in later years between English and German in Philadelphia.—Organization of an English Lutheran congregation.

IN our times we think it strange that Whitefield, as we narrated, was invited to participate in the services and the exercises of the Lutheran congregation. We find it stranger yet that when, in 1769, the large Zion Church, built by the same Lutheran congregation in addition to St. Michael's, was in a condition to be used for public services, Whitefield was invited to preach in it, and that when among the Episcopalians at Philadelphia a vacancy occurred Mühlenberg was invited to fill it and to preach to them. We add that he was also invited to hold public examination of the parochial school at the German Reformed church at Philadelphia, and in consequence of a special request delivered the funeral address on the occasion of the decease of the German Reformed pastor, Rev. Steiner. The great fame of Whitefield as a most eminently-gifted Christian preacher placed him, to an extent, in an exceptional position. He had in later years considerably modified his course of action and his manner of preaching. It had formerly been his habit to censure in severe language the clergy of the Episcopal Church, to which he himself belonged, and to take a position antagonistic to them. When, in

1763, he reappeared in Philadelphia, and also at later visits, he made it a point to entertain friendly relations with Rev. Peters, who had become rector of Christ Church, and with his colleagues, and used in his sermons much more moderate language. We have to keep in mind that in small towns, as Philadelphia was in those years, the pastors of the various denominations had occasion to come more frequently into personal contact with one another. It also was a view rather common in those days that the doctrinal distinctions between the Episcopal and the Lutheran churches were of no great account, and the Episcopal Church was frequently called by Lutheran theologians *Ecclesia Lutheranizans*. Mühlenberg's Pietism also, as he had inherited it from Halle, brought him into a certain affinity with all those in whom he noticed the symptoms of a living, personal spirituality, and he had therefore warm friends not only among Episcopalians—who were to an extent electrified by a man of the power of Whitefield—but also among the Presbyterians who were similarly affected, like the two brothers, Rev. Messrs. G. and W. Tennent. In his intercourse with such men Mühlenberg found some spiritual refreshment and encouragement, and the doctrines which formed a high and strong barrier between their respective church bodies were left in the background. But Mühlenberg and his colaborers, all under the control of the same Pietism, never entertained the idea of a union of the various denominations; and whenever, as was the case especially on the part of the Episcopalians, approaches were made in this direction, they were never encouraged. Yet the presumed affinity between the Episcopal and the Lutheran churches in later years proved disastrous not only to the Swedish churches in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, but also to Lutheran congregations in New York. Mühlenberg, while he certainly preferred the fervor of Whitefield to the perfunctory manner in which numbers of the clergy of divers denominations here and there performed the duties of their offices, was far from consenting, without considerable restriction, to all the ways and views of Whitefield. He acknowledged his ardor and his

wonderful influence over a large number of souls, who through him were awakened from a condition of indifference and spiritual death and brought to Christ. He rejoiced in the results of a powerful preaching of evangelical truth, whoever might be the preacher or the part of Christ's kingdom to which he might belong, just as he rejoiced, and with him his brethren in the sacred office, when members of their flocks would from time to time privately meet in an unostentatious way, unitedly read the word of God, and pray and sing. Such "conventicles" manifested their interest in sacred truth, and could, if ever an excuse was needed in those times when in many places regular public services were of comparatively rare occurrence, easily be excused. To identify them with the well-known methodistic prayer-meetings would be a great perversion of historical facts, and the old Latin saying, *Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem*, holds good in this case. There still existed between 1780 and 1790 an association in the Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia, the members of which met from time to time to discuss the Articles of the Augsburg Confession. When we read in the *Halle Reports* of "prayer-meetings" which Mühlenberg and his associates themselves held in their respective congregations, we must keep in mind that in those services singing of church-hymns, reading of the Scriptures, a practical exegesis of the portion read, and prayers by the officiating minister took place. No one could be more opposed to a loose, haphazard way of holding public services than was Mühlenberg. Those applicants for the ministerial office to whom congregations were to be entrusted had to promise a strict adherence not only to the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, but also to the liturgical form of worship adopted by synod. The looseness of a subsequent period in these questions of doctrine and forms of worship was totally antagonistic to the principles maintained by Mühlenberg. He could not but admire the talent and the spiritual gifts of Whitefield, but unhesitatingly states that he was shocked by his denial of regenerating grace in baptism. Pietistic liberalism allowed him to use more freedom in practical interdenominational

relations than appears compatible with his strict Lutheran convictions, but the question arises whether, without that Pietistic element in his spiritual framework, he would have been that warm-hearted, self-denying, energetic, and humble servant in the cause of the Master. Pietism was indeed the form under which in those years warm-hearted godliness almost exclusively existed in Germany. Those who were animated by it knew its strong points by experience, and, as may be expected, were rather shortsighted as to its weak ones. It was the living source from which then proceeded most works of Christian charity, missionary enterprises, care of the orphans, the spreading of the Bible among the masses of the people, and instruction of the neglected. To this school, if we may so call it, Mühlenberg belonged. He could not absolutely escape the influence of its weaker points; its strong ones never found a worthier or a more energetic and successful representative.

The presence of Mühlenberg in the Philadelphia congregation proved more and more a blessing. After the adoption of the new constitution, the church, as to its outward administration, was on a solid basis. The spirit which in 1753 had produced a rebellion in the neighboring Germantown had to a large extent died out. The rehabilitation of genuine Lutheranism in that locality in 1763 could not but have a beneficial effect upon Philadelphia and upon other places. Mühlenberg had all right-minded people on his side. His judiciousness fully secured to him the respect also of those who, led on by Handschuh, had opposed the framing and adoption of a new congregational constitution. Of personal enmities or of insults offered him by evil-disposed and foolish people he made no account, and comforted one who complained to him about a pasquinade nailed on his house by telling him that he had frequently been the recipient of such honors. His ready judgment and his presence of mind in all contingencies could not but gain him universal respect. It was Sunday, Oct. 30, 1763, when, during the afternoon services, a serious shock of earthquake made St. Michael's, which was crowded with

worshippers, tremble, the rumbling noise connected with it and resembling the quick rolling of heavily-laden wagons, producing great consternation. The people, frightened by the unusual phenomenon, rushed toward the doors. By reminding them that out of doors they might fall into God's hands no less than within, Mühlenberg at once restored order, and resumed the Lord's Prayer, in which he had been engaged. His various attainments and accomplishments were acknowledged as occasion was given. When, in 1763, a new organ was furnished St. Peter's Episcopal Church, in the southern part of Philadelphia, he was requested to give it a trial. When, in 1764, at the Philadelphia Academy, a *cursus physico-experimentalis* was opened, he was invited to attend the lectures. To Germany in the interest of science he sent collections of natural curiosities from America. He took occasion, in a letter written in Latin, to point out to a Danish officer of high standing, who had addressed him in a humoristic manner from the island of St. Croix, the marked distinction between coarse and vulgar wit and humor and the refined Attic. Of his kind-heartedness and charitable inclinations we have already given many and forcible examples. We add that in one of his most private papers we discover that to the son of a teacher of languages at the University of Jena, who had for a time lived as a captive among the Indians, he presented at once a coat, a "camisole," and a shirt. What Mrs. Mühlenberg said to these and similar acts we do not know, but we are sure that she could have added numbers of such instances. At her request he began in February, 1764, to write his autobiography. Whether that description of his life which leads us up to the beginning of his activity in Pennsylvania, and is given to the public by Rev. Dr. William Germann, now superintendent of the diocese of Wasungen, Sachsen-Meiningen, through Messrs. Brobst, Diehl & Co. at Allentown, Pa. (1881), is a part of that autobiography, or all that he ever finished of it, we are unable to say. As a pastor who did not neglect the *cura specialis* he took, in the year 1764, much interest in a criminal who, as a murderer, was condemned to capital

punishment, and whom he carefully prepared for his terrible end. We also find that the question of the rite of confirmation seriously engaged the mind of Mühlenberg. Elaborately he takes up in his diary of June 24, 1764, all those objections which then already from various quarters were raised against confirmation, and which he had discussed in an address before the congregation, taking as his text Rom. ix. 4. He refers to the fact that what is given to children in holy baptism by divine grace is in most cases, under various co-operating causes, not developed into personal appropriation, but rather lost. "Some object," he says, "to our Lutheran way of trying to influence the mind in early years, and think we had better wait until an impulse from within makes itself felt." Mühlenberg energetically rejects this view, and says that while waiting for a spontaneous movement souls might grow cold, and even die. Young persons in the second septenary of their life he finds already exposed to many evil influences and great dangers, yet in a condition to receive good impressions and to be approached and placed under the influences of the Holy Spirit. To the objection that persons of that age are superficial and giddy and wanting in proper judgment, he answers that at no time and in no condition the natural man "receiveth the things of the Spirit of God," but that God has given us the means of grace to operate through them upon the natural man, and that the sooner this is done the better, since young trees may be bent much easier than old ones. He appeals to the testimony of the adult and the aged to prove that those words and truths of the Scriptures which in youngest years have been properly implanted are most firmly fixed in the mind and form a basis for the instruction of catechumens. It was true, as some objected, that very frequently the good impressions received in earlier years are soon effaced and the good promises forgotten, and that sin and guilt thereby are increased. Admitting the fact, he says that the cause of this deplorable condition is very often persons who, indifferent about their own souls, wantonly destroy what others have planted; but this certainly does not prove that

no spiritual care should be taken of the souls of the young, neither that all the good received by them is lost.

Throughout all the voluminous diaries and the extensive correspondence which Mühlenberg left to posterity it cannot escape our observation that he was exceedingly careful as to remarks referring to the politics of the times and the land and the province in which he lived. The period from 1763 to 1766, and much more that from 1770 to the end of the War of Independence, was one of great political excitement in all the North American provinces, and especially in Pennsylvania. The outrages committed in 1763 by the Indians in the interior of the province had provoked a very excusable hatred. The Quakers, still exercising, with their sympathizers in peace principles, a considerable influence in provincial politics, continued to oppose military measures. Of the want of energetic action caused by that influence the Indians made terrible use. In giving vent to revengeful feelings a number of men from Lancaster—known as the "Paxtang Rangers"—murdered (Dec. 13, 1763) some Indians at Conestoga, and others (Dec. 27th) in the workhouse at Lancaster. These acts were undeniably riotous. The government was helpless against the bloodthirsty Rangers. They, knowing that already in November, 1763, a number of Indians coming from Moravian mission-stations in Pennsylvania had been sheltered in Philadelphia, and suspecting that many of them were such as had committed murder and outrages of all sorts, in the beginning of February, 1764, moved toward Philadelphia and menaced the city, to the utmost terror of the inhabitants. In those dark days, even, some few Quakers, under the pressure of circumstances, were, to the great delight of the juveniles in Philadelphia, seen marching about with sword and gun. The worst was happily avoided, and peace was restored. The object of the march to Philadelphia was, however, of much wider scope than to take revenge on the Indians. A material change in the government, which had been in the hands of a comparatively few influential men, chiefly Quakers, was desired,

and a larger representation of the people in the Assembly was demanded. This desire was supported by the injudicious manner of dealing with the Indians pursued by the government. All the questions involved in this difficulty were acrimoniously discussed on both sides in a flood of pamphlets. Military measures taken in 1764 at last struck terror into the Indians in Pennsylvania. When, in the autumn of this year, efforts were made to reduce the Quaker element in the Assembly, and to elect men who in questions of war or of peace would not neglect the first duty of every government—to defend its subjects against hostile attacks—the members of the German Lutheran Church at Philadelphia also took a lively interest in this movement, the more so as Henry Keppele, one of their number and treasurer of the congregation, was proposed as a member of the Assembly, with a fellow-delegate, to represent the city of Philadelphia in that body. It seems that in this election Mühlenberg was not permitted to exercise a "masterly inactivity" or to remain neutral. He writes under Oct. 2d: "They invited me to the city-hall that I might deposit my vote, since the other clergymen had handed in theirs. I went there, but returned." He probably found too great a throng of people and no chance to vote. He continues: "In the evening I was again called from home to give my vote as a citizen in favor of two nominees of the city for the Assembly. There was, however, such a crowd that only as late as after ten o'clock could I deposit my vote." Under date of Oct. 3d he says: "There was this day both great rejoicing and great exasperation in this city in the political sphere, since it was reported that the German church people had gained a victory, having elected our trustee, Mr. Henry Keppele, to the Assembly—a thing which very much pleased the friends of the gentlemen Proprietors, but greatly exasperated the Quakers and German Moravians. It is reported that, as old as Pennsylvania is, there was never such a mass of people assembled at an election. The English and German Quakers, with the Moravians, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, formed one party, and the English of the High Church [Episcopalians], the Pres-

byterians, the German Lutherans, and Reformed joined the other party, and prevailed in the election—a thing heretofore unheard of." This is one of the few passages found in Mühlenberg's diaries alluding to political life and struggles. About the dissatisfaction arising in Pennsylvania on account of the unwillingness of the Proprietaries to share in the burden of taxes laid upon all real estate, and about the much more consequential dissatisfaction directed against the Stamp Act passed by the home government in 1764, and calling forth throughout the American provinces the cry, "No representation, no taxation!"—a principle on which, finally, the Declaration of Independence rested—Mühlenberg apparently entertains an intentional silence. When, after the repeal of the Stamp Act (1766), a day of thanksgiving was celebrated in many localities, especially in Philadelphia, Mühlenberg had the sermon preached by him on the occasion published with the title, *A testimony of the goodness and the zeal of God toward his covenant people in the old and new times, and of the ingratitude of his people toward him, given at the occasion of the thanksgiving in consequence of the repeal of the Stamp Act, Aug. 1, 1766, by the Rev. H. Mühlenberg. Philadelphia: H. Miller.* Unfortunately, no copy of this pamphlet could be discovered by us. Here and there the political events give Mühlenberg occasion to make remarks of a religious character and to acknowledge the hand of a guiding or a chastising Providence, but he is careful not to identify himself with political party views. May we in the decided position taken by his sons see a clue to the feelings and the convictions of the father? These sons were, however, destined—at least, for a time—to be his colaborers in the work of the Church. One of them followed that calling throughout his life; the two others, under the influence of the stirring times in which they lived, were irresistibly drawn into the political arena, and both of them served their country with much honor to themselves and to the family—one in the military, the other in the administrative department.

In the private documents left by Mühlenberg we often meet

with expressions of sorrow and pain that under the never-ending pressure of official duties and in consequence of his frequent absences from home it was impossible for him to pay to his family and children that attention which under other conditions he most willingly would have given them. This he felt as a most serious matter, especially concerning his sons. When, in 1761, he had moved to Philadelphia, better facilities of higher instruction were offered. On the other hand, the moral and social dangers were increased, and with the increase of the demands now made upon the father's time and strength his ability properly to attend to the education of his sons proportionally decreased. He himself had received his education in Germany, the land of his birth. He was convinced that the opportunities offered there he could in his time neither find nor expect here. He entertained a very exalted view of the institutions at Halle, the directors of which, the "Fathers," he held in the highest esteem, while he was convinced that the organization of those institutions of learning, the discipline firmly executed in them, the religious spirit permeating them, the educational and scientific opportunities afforded there, could not but prove in the highest degree advantageous. When teaching there in his younger years he had derived great and lasting benefits, and it was most natural that he desired his children to share in the same blessings.

To his inquiries in Halle, where he was kept in loving remembrance, and his career and successful activity in the distant land found a well-deserved acknowledgment, the most encouraging answer was given, and to his children the most favorable conditions were granted. That the resolution to send away three sons, all of them being in tender years, at the same time from the parental home to a distant land beyond the ocean could not be taken without the severest struggle with natural feelings and inclinations, needs not to be told. It was based upon the consideration that to promote the best interests of the children no sacrifice could be too great for the parents.

Wednesday, Apr. 27, 1763, was the day appointed for their

departure. The oldest, John Peter Gabriel, was then in his fifteenth year; the youngest, Gotthilf Heinrich Ernest, in his tenth year; the middle one, Frederick August Conrad, in his thirteenth year. In a special visit on Apr. 21st the father had commended those three brothers, who were to embark on a voyage of nearly four thousand miles to a country strange to them, to one of the foremost men of the province of Pennsylvania, Hon. William Allen, son of a Philadelphia merchant—in 1741 recorder of his native city, and later chief-justice of the province—who, being decidedly adverse to the revolutionary movement, left for England before the outbreak of the war, and died at London in 1780. He received Mühlenberg most kindly, and cheered the father's heart by promising to keep a watchful eye on the three boys. Mühlenberg also visited the ship in which they were to cross the Atlantic, and spoke to Captain Budden in their behalf. He also furnished his sons with letters of introduction to friends at London and at Eimbeck, and to the Rev. Dr. Francke and other acquaintances in Halle. Provost Wrangel also furnished letters of recommendation to his correspondents at London, Messrs. Andrew and Charles Lindegren, merchants. From London the young brothers were to be forwarded to Hamburg, and were thence to proceed, by the way of Eimbeck, to Halle; all of which programme was successfully carried out under the guidance and the protection of a kind Providence. On the appointed day Mühlenberg and his wife and children solemnly took farewell of the sons and the brothers. He sent up a fervent prayer in their behalf to the throne of grace. Wrangel, who, as an intimate friend of the family, was present on the occasion, also addressed them and pronounced a benediction upon them. The mother accompanied the children to the ship, which left port at four P. M., and arrived safely at London June 15th. Among the passengers were two near friends of the family—a son of Mr. Keppele, Henry Keppele, Jr., and Mr. Justus Frederick Meyer. We can easily present to our minds the anxiety of the parents until news came of the safe arrival of the boys at their destination.

We remember that just about the time of the departure of his sons Mühlenberg's mind was greatly troubled by the agitation going on in the Philadelphia congregation. We also know that through the personal influence and the judicious steps of Mühlenberg the question of the constitution of the same was happily solved. Tuesday, Oct. 9, 1764, Handschuh, Mühlenberg's colleague in the service in the Philadelphia church, departed this life, after a protracted sickness, in his fifty-first year. He had been a man of many good qualities, and had had his heart in the sacred work entrusted to his care; but he was too much under the sway of morbid feelings, was easily irritated, was controlled by the narrowest Pietistic conceits, was lacking in the knowledge of human nature and in judgment, and—compared with the whole intellectual and spiritual frame of Mühlenberg—in all directions was of infinitely smaller proportions. Mühlenberg treated him with becoming fraternal respect and kindness, attended him during his sickness, and was with him at midnight when the brother seemed to be near his end. Amid Mühlenberg's prayers he fell asleep at six in the morning of Oct 11th. His mortal remains were taken to their last resting-place, in front of the chancel of St. Michael's Church, where also those of Heintzelmann and Brunnholtz were deposited. At a later time tablets of marble were erected in the church in memory of these three pastors and of Mühlenberg. At the funeral services of Handschuh much respect was shown to the deceased and to the congregation he had served. The English academy was represented by two doctors of divinity and two professors; the Episcopal Church, by three pastors; the Presbyterian by two. The minister of the Baptist congregation was present with one missionary of the Swedish Church and two of the German Reformed. Even Whitefield, though seriously ailing, accompanied the funeral in a carriage. Of Lutheran ministers there were present, in addition to Mühlenberg, Hartwig and Voigt. The German address in St. Michael's was delivered by Voigt, Mühlenberg following in English. On the following Sunday, Mühlenberg took occa-

sion in his sermon on 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2 to refer to his departed colleague, whose mortal remains rested in front of the pulpit on which he stood. He also alluded to the two others resting there side by side with Handschuh, and urged the congregation, each for himself, to ask what use he had made of the services of these servants of the Lord. We should remember that a short time before the death of Handschuh the plan of a new constitution had greatly agitated the congregation. Mühlenberg, starting with the admonition of St. Paul to the Corinthians to lay aside party strife and to preserve the union of the Spirit, at that solemn moment took occasion to impress upon his hearers the necessity of mutual forbearance and good understanding. He also read before the congregation an elaborate biographical sketch of the deceased brother, which is preserved to us in the twelfth continuation of the *Halle Reports.*

Upon the death of Handschuh the whole pastoral care of the congregation devolved exclusively upon Mühlenberg. That he should carry this burden alone was not to be expected. The congregation had of late been rapidly increasing. This was due, among other causes, to the swelling tide of immigration from Germany, which during the political struggle between England and France before 1760—in which year (Sept. 8th) Montreal, Detroit, and all Canada were surrendered to England by France—had been very much reduced, but was now resumed with renewed vigor. The question how to provide for more extended accommodations for church-goers could no longer be avoided. Sept. 13, 1763, the vestry had resolved that as soon as all the debts resting on St. Michael's Church were paid a new church-building should be erected, both churches to belong to one and the same congregation. To the graveyard surrounding St. Michael's a contiguous piece of ground was also added. At the meeting of the vestry on Jan. 12, 1764, it was stated that St. Michael's gave hardly sufficient room to two-thirds of the members of the congregation, and that it was like "an overstocked beehive." No less than three or four hundred chil-

dren had been baptized in one year. The disposition of the seats in the pews of St. Michael's had become a very troublesome thing. On the same day it was resolved that every Sunday morning public services should be held in the church and in the school-house. In 1766 there were no less than one hundred and twenty-seven catechumens to prepare for confirmation, and sometimes four hundred communicants appeared at the Lord's Table. It was plain that one minister could not satisfy the necessities and demands of the congregation, and on Oct. 22, 1764, two weeks after the death of Handschuh, it was resolved by the vestry to petition the Fathers in Europe to send another missionary, who might serve the congregation as a colleague of Mühlenberg. One of the results of the unparalleled increase of immigration from Germany at that time was the formation, in 1764, of the "German Benevolent Society of Pennsylvania," which held its first meeting—and for years following many others—in the school-house of the Lutheran congregation, on the day after Christmas, 1764, Henry Keppele being elected president: it received its charter Sept. 20, 1781. Its most important object was to counteract the frauds and barbarities in those times habitually practised by shippers upon helpless emigrants, and to assist them at the time of their arrival in Pennsylvania. The history of this society from 1764 until 1876 is given in a very interesting and exhaustive manner in a work by Prof. Dr. O. Seidensticker of the University of Pennsylvania (published by I. Kohler, Philadelphia, 1876).

During the year 1764 the plan of enlarging St. Michael's Church was frequently discussed inside and outside of the vestry of the Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia. If it had ever been carried out, it would have been very unsatisfactory. We might think that the organization of a second Lutheran congregation and the erection of another church-building intended for its use would have obviated the difficulty and have been the most feasible thing, but there was no inclination in this direction. During the summer of 1763, Hartwig had a number of times preached to Lutherans in the German Reformed

church, saying that he wanted to serve only those who found no room in St. Michael's; but his proceeding in this matter, acting without consultation with the pastors and the vestry of St. Michael's, appeared very offensive, and the permission to use the German Reformed church for his separatistic agitation was soon withdrawn. B. M. Hausihl, who for a time, in the autumn of 1763, had served the congregation at Reading, entered upon his duties as pastor of the church at Easton, Pa., and at Greenwich, in its neighborhood, in New Jersey. With both these congregations he had involved himself in difficulties, and at the beginning of July, 1765, came to Philadelphia as having received a call from the anti-Pietistic portion of the Lutheran congregation there. A resolution passed by the vestry on July 15th prohibited him from preaching in St. Michael's and serving at funerals in the graveyard of the congregation. He nevertheless in August brought his family and his furniture to Philadelphia, where soon afterward his mother-in-law died, and on Sept. 1st he preached his inaugural sermon. His intention to organize a separate congregation met with no success.* May 4, 1766, Mühlenberg preached the dedication sermon of Trinity Church at Lancaster. The synod, convened at Philadelphia June 9th to 12th, struck Hausihl's name from the ministerial roll—an act done in the absence of Mühlenberg. No plan to organize a second German Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia could in those times succeed.

* It appears from a declaration signed by two members of the German Reformed church, and published in the *Philadelphia Staatsbote* of Aug. 5, 1765, that that party of the Reformed Church which erected St. George's Church, in Fourth street, south of New, being unable to carry through the enterprise, now gave "the half of the church" to a certain number of Lutherans; that they had accepted Mr Hausihl for three years as their pastor and had given him a regular call, but that it was untrue that during this period no Reformed pastor should have a right to preach in the church; that after three years each of the two congregations might elect a pastor for themselves. It is also stated that the Reformed had before formally offered to the Lutheran congregation to build a union church, but the offer was refused. (*Vide* also *A History of the Reformed Church in Philadelphia*, by Rev. David van Horne. Philadelphia, Reformed Church Publication Board, 907 Arch street, 1876. pp. 40 sqq.)

Feb. 19, 1766, the vestry of St. Michael's Church resolved to buy a piece of ground on the south-east corner of Cherry and Fourth streets, opposite the school-house, and there to erect a large church. The very fact that this lot was only one square distant from St. Michael's proves how much stress was laid upon retaining one congregation. To the resolution of the vestry the congregation gave its unanimous consent. The lot, 108 by 70, was bought for fifteen hundred and forty pounds nine shillings, currency, or four thousand one hundred and six dollars and sixty-six cents. The liberal contributions coming from the members of the congregation during the months of January and February of 1766 amounted to eighteen hundred Pennsylvania pounds—considering the condition of the people from a financial point of view, an exceedingly large sum. April 25th the vestry resolved "solemnly to lay the corner-stone of the second Lutheran church, to be called Zion Church." Subsequently the vestry added that during the synodical meeting they "would take care of the pastors and of their horses," and "that a steeple should be attached to the church and be built up while her walls were erected." Twenty-two years later the steeple was carried somewhat higher than the lofty roof of the church, but never finished. When synod, in June, 1766, met at Philadelphia, the corner-stone was solemnly laid in its presence on June 11th. In the corner-stone were deposited a copy of Luther's Small Catechism printed at Philadelphia, a copy of the *Confessio Augustana Invariata*, and a document containing the essentials of the history of the congregation and an address to posterity.* When, in 1869, Zion Church was demolished, the box placed in the corner-stone was found, but of its contents nothing but insignificant remnants were left. This may be attributed to the fire which, on the night of Dec. 26, 1794, devastated all the interior and destroyed the roof of the church. During 1766 the walls of the building had been put under roof, and during the following year the arch-work forming the ceiling

* This address is preserved to us in Section II. of the thirteenth continuation of the *Halle Reports*.

was put in place and the plastering of the inside of the building was completed. Originally, two rows of high columns from south to north divided the church into three parts—a plan which, after the conflagration of 1794, was totally changed. This church was for a considerable number of years considered to be the largest and finest house of worship in all North America. Though there were still wanting the organ and a regular set of pews and other appliances, it was dedicated June 25, 1769, before an immense concourse of people and amid the rejoicings of the congregation, which in this great undertaking had shown much fervor and an admirable willingness to serve the cause of religion. In the festivities of that occasion participated the members of the German Lutheran Ministerium, the pastors of the Swedish and German Reformed congregations, the commissary of the Episcopal Church, the provost and faculty of the academy, the mayor of Philadelphia, and other dignitaries. Whitefield accepted the invitation to preach in Zion on Sunday, May 27, 1770, in the evening; his text was 2 Cor. vii. 1. He requested that the services conclude with the singing of a German hymn. The last two verses of *Nun ruhen alle Waelder* were sung. The large building was overcrowded. Whitefield died Sept. 30th of the same year.

That a debt of more than eight thousand Pennsylvania pounds proved a heavy burden we can easily understand. The flourishing condition of the congregation in those days is attested by the fact that already in 1772 the debts were reduced to fifty-two hundred Pennsylvania pounds. The assistance coming from Europe was in this respect of no great account. The proposition to raise a considerable sum of money by opening a lottery was rejected by the vestry as not being in accordance with Christian principles, though in those times lotteries helped to pay the debts of many a church. In the manner in which the St. Michael and Zion vestry disposed of the proposition we may properly trace the influence of Mühlenberg. He was in those years under the pressure of the responsibilities incurred in behalf of St. Peter's at Barren

Hill, but there also he had not advocated a measure of such a profane character to extricate the house of God and to free himself from a very embarrassing difficulty.

When Zion Church was solemnly dedicated seven years had passed since Mühlenberg's return to Philadelphia. Certainly, the building, which easily accommodated between two and three thousand people, and which in a period of one hundred years offered a place for hundreds of thousands of souls to worship the living God, was a monument also to the happy and blessed influence which during those seven years he had exercised upon the congregation. That building formed a parallel to that other work wherein within the same period he showed his master-hand—the new constitution adopted in 1762, without which Zion Church probably would never have been built. To this must be added the great unanimity which years before the end of that period, and during years following it, permeated the congregation, and amply testified to the influence which Mühlenberg exercised by his superior practical intelligence and by the exalted purity of his character.

In answer to the petition after the death of Handschuh sent to Halle, Rev. Christopher Emanuel Schulze arrived Oct. 24, 1765, at Philadelphia. After having delivered (Oct. 27th) his inaugural sermon in St. Michael's, he was on the following day unanimously elected by the vestry second pastor of the congregation. Mühlenberg found in him a colleague whom he could respect and love. His marriage with Mühlenberg's eldest daughter, Eve Elizabeth, born Jan. 9, 1748, brought him still nearer to his heart. The marriage ceremony was performed by Wrangel, Sept. 23, 1766. Schulze was born Jan. 25, 1740, at Probstzell, near Saalfeld, Saxony; he had received his theological education at the University of Halle, and had for a few years been one of the instructors in the Orphan-House and scholastic institutions of that city. Having received the call from Pennsylvania through Dr. G. A. Francke and Dr. Ziegenhagen, he was ordained at Wernigerode before departing, by the way of Hamburg and London, for America. He was the only son of his mother, a widow,

and had an only sister, who died before the mother, who until her end was the object of his filial care and attention. Schulze was a man of very commanding appearance and of a tall, robust frame; as a preacher he was most acceptable, and as a catechiser was without a superior. When, in 1769, J. N. Kurtz was called to York, Schulze was elected his successor at Tulpehoken. To this change, perfected January, 1771, the Philadelphia congregation consented only on the condition that in case of pressing necessity he would re-enter upon the pastoral office at Philadelphia. It seems that he preferred living and serving in the country to sojourning in the city. Already, in 1768, Mühlenberg takes occasion to testify to Schulze's excellent horsemanship, and relates that at a later time, in 1782 (Oct. 4th), Schulze made in one day fifty miles on horseback. When, in 1784, Dr. Kunze moved from Philadelphia to New York, the Philadelphia congregation, reminding Schulze of his former promise, sent him such a pressing call that he could not well avoid accepting it. A most critical and protracted sickness interfered, and, Schulze's vitality being for some time greatly reduced, the Philadelphia congregation could not insist upon his removing to the city. He continued in his service at Tulpehoken and other neighboring congregations until his death, March 9, 1809. One of his sons, John Andrew Melchior, entered the ministerial office in 1796, and for some time assisted his father; was ordained in 1800, settled at Womelsdorf, Berks county, Pa., retired in consequence of bodily sufferings from the ministerial service; was in 1806 made a member of the legislature of his native State; and this grandson of H. M. Mühlenberg was twice (1823–29) elected governor of Pennsylvania. His father had served as president of synod 1781–85 and 1793–94. As a pastor he was indefatigable in his labors. Mühlenberg here and there takes occasion to testify to his most arduous life, and to the conscientious manner in which, though overwhelmed with work beyond his strength, he attended to his duties. Mühlenberg preserves to us a letter which Schulze, as president of synod, sent out April 20, 1784, to invite the brethren to

the annual convention. We give its substance to our readers: "The time of our yearly meeting is near. I, for one, already rejoice in the thought of this prospect of coming together. In this joy you, my highly-respected brethren, will share. The office entrusted to us by our Lord being full of impediments and difficulties, let us at our meeting again encourage one another manfully to do our duty and in spite of all opposition to the truth never to become weary. Since on that great day to come we shall have to give before our Chief Shepherd an account how we attended to the important duties laid upon us, let us incite one another to renewed faithfulness and seriousness, that in the end we may be found faithful stewards. May the Lord, who has all in his hands, bestow upon our convention a lasting blessing!" Schulze stood very high in the estimation of his brethren in the sacred office, who honored him by the title of "Senior," and at all times showed him the highest respect, as did the whole community in which he lived.

It may be proper here to mention a few more of the colaborers of Mühlenberg, in whose welfare he took much concern, and who in various ways were brought into nearer contact with him.

One of the pastors of whose sincerity and devotion to the cause of Christ and his Church Mühlenberg entertained a very good opinion, and to whom he often proved a judicious counsellor and a true friend, was John Andrew Krug, born in Saxony, educated in Halle, and before his departure for America with his companion, J. L. Voigt, ordained at Wernigerode. In Germany he had already done some pastoral service. After a tedious voyage from London, which he and Voigt had left Jan. 24, 1764, he arrived at Philadelphia on Sunday afternoon, April 1st, and was welcomed by Mühlenberg and Handschuh. After the removal of Hausihl to Easton the congregation at Reading was left vacant. We find that Krug had begun his pastoral labors there before April 30th, on Easter Day, and continued therein, though a regular call as pastor of the congregation was not given him before the

autumn of the same year. It appears that he also served the congregation in the vicinity, for already in May of that year Mühlenberg states that Krug began to acquire some skill in riding on horseback. He was, however, not of a robust physical constitution, had a weak voice, and was short-sighted to such an extent that in reading he had to bring his eyes almost down upon the book. But his unaffected humility, his sincere piety, and his zeal for the welfare of those who were entrusted to his care could not fail to gain for him the esteem and the affection of those who were spiritually benefited by his pastoral services. As a true "Hallensis" he held private devotions with such in addition to the usual public service. There were, however, among the membership at Reading in those days some rough and disturbing elements, and they embittered his life. In 1769 seventeen members lodged unreasonable complaints against him before synod and demanded his removal; their demand, however, was outweighed by a counter-petition signed by one hundred and six members. It appears that in 1770 some elders of the Lutheran church at Baltimore, afterward served by Gerock, were favorably inclined toward Krug, and had on this account addressed Mühlenberg. In his answer of Sept. 24, 1770, to one of them, Dr. Chas. Fr. Wiesenthal, he says: "Provided Rev. Krug should, according to the divine will, be the instrument to build up the congregation, as the gentlemen elders seem to think, I agree with you in this—that you selected a man of excellent character, who already served in the sacred office in Germany, in consequence of our urgent petitions was given to this American vineyard, free of all expenses, to assist us, presided for some years in the Reading church, teaching pure doctrine and walking without blemish, though he experienced there much rude treatment from some puffed-up persons. In addition to this, I testify from my personal knowledge that he is not only very well versed in the Oriental languages wherein God's word is written, but in all the branches of theology, and adorns his preaching with a Christian walk and conversation. I count it one of his peculiar gifts that he is eminently

able, in catechising and in instructing, to deal in a friendly and edifying manner with young people—a quality most necessary in a teacher. I also say that he is neither a hypocrite nor a flatterer, but speaks to every one the truth without prevarication, and is no respecter of persons, high or low. But the difficulty rests in this—that for some time past the elders and deacons of the congregation at Fredericktown have requested Rev. Krug to become their pastor, and sent me a call to be laid at the next synodical meeting before the ministerium to be deliberated upon, and to be approved of or disapproved." This is ample proof of Mühlenberg's good opinion of Krug.

The action of synod resulted in 1771 in a regular call from the Fredericktown congregation, and in Krug's removal to that field in the same year. Here J. S. Schwerdfeger, who has already been mentioned, had been pastor since October, 1763, after his admission into synod in 1762. After returning from a voyage to Europe, where he had expected to receive Episcopal ordination in England, he found the Fredericktown congregation, which Hartwig had served in the interim, unwilling to re-enter into a connection with him; moved, after some delay in Pennsylvania, to Albany, N. Y.; then, about 1784, to the neighboring Feilestown, where he died about 1788, after having in 1786 participated in the formation of the New York Ministerium.

In obeying a request of the church-officers at Strassburg, Va., June 15–30, 1772—consequently, a short time before Peter Mühlenberg entered there upon his remarkable career—Krug undertook a tour to that province, visited Winchester (where he found an unfinished stone church begun by the Lutherans years before), Neustadt, Strassburg, and Woodstock; preached at those places, instructed children, celebrated the Lord's Supper, visited the sick, and baptized forty-five children. In the same year (Oct. 6th) he was married by Mühlenberg to Henrietta, only daughter of Handschuh, whose widow died some years later in Krug's house. About the year 1783, in addition to Fredericktown, he served congrega-

tions in its neighborhood, but was hardly strong enough for all this work, and incurred here also, in 1785 and the following years, the ill-will of some persons, who may have felt themselves aggrieved by his testifying against their unchristian manner of living, but was amply sustained against their complaints by the voice of an overwhelming majority of his membership. In spite of serious attacks of sickness and of his general physical debility, he continued in his pastoral activity until the day of his death, May 30, 1796. Synod resolved that Rev. Dr. G. H. E. Mühlenberg, pastor of the Lancaster congregation, son of H. M. Mühlenberg, should, with Goering and Melsheimer, two other members of the ministerium, proceed to Fredericktown and there deliver a funeral sermon.

With John L. Voigt, who had come to this country with Krug, and had with him been ordained at Wernigerode, Mühlenberg had in later years much personal intercourse. His preaching in St. Michael's (Apr. 8, 1764) the first time after his arrival made a favorable impression upon a number of the Philadelphia congregation, but he himself made a less favorable one upon Mühlenberg's oldest daughter, who not long afterward refused his proposals. J. N. Kurtz having returned to Tulpehoken, Voigt was stationed at Germantown from July 7, 1764, serving also at Barren Hill, but followed in 1765 a call to Providence, was elected in 1768 at New Hanover, where a certain clique had attempted to palm either the miserable man Rapp of Germantown memory, or the equally despicable individual Engelland, upon the congregation. Voigt served also at Pikestown, on the west side of the Schuylkill. He quitted the service at New Hanover about 1776 and moved to Pikestown (called also St. Vincent), where until 1762 Lutherans and Reformed had used the same log church, which then fell exclusively into the hands of the Lutherans. This church was called Zion. In 1772 a number of its members erected, some miles to the south-west of Zion, St. Peter's Church. Zion was rebuilt of stone before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. When Mühlenberg, in

1776, returned to Providence (Trappe), Voigt moved to a parsonage erected by the people of Zion and St. Peter's west of the Schuylkill, served also the Lutherans at Pottstown, and alternately with Mühlenberg, about 1778 and 1779, at Providence. This latter congregation he attended yet for some time after 1790, retaining the others until his death, Dec. 28, 1800. He had reached the age of seventy years. His mortal remains rest near Zion Church. The inscription on his tombstone informs us that he was born in Mansfeld, well known through Luther's biography. After having finished his theological education, he was for a time engaged as a teacher in the Halle institutions, when the call to Pennsylvania came to him. In his ministerial services Voigt proved himself a true son of Halle. When at New Hanover he introduced hours of private devotion among those of his membership who felt a deeper spiritual interest, and in doing this incurred the opposition of such as viewed that practice as a sign of heterodoxy, or at least used it as a pretext. He was a man of marked individuality, but was occasionally lacking in judiciousness. Already in Germantown he involved himself in some financial difficulties, as he did not fully understand how to "make both ends meet." He fell into a worse difficulty at New Hanover, where, on account of suspicions aroused by his want of circumspection, the people for a time became very averse to him, and Mühlenberg, while not doubting his innocence, found it necessary to address him a letter which was anything but flattering. He advised Voigt to marry, and united him in 1779 (Nov. 16th), in his own house, in marriage with Anna Mary, widow of Conrad Soellner. During the War of Independence, Voigt was time and again exposed to the rudeness of the soldiers of the American army encamped not very far from his parsonage. He was considered a Tory, as he refused publicly to pray for the American Congress. At one time he absented himself for three years from the meetings of synod. Later, on account of his advanced age, he was permitted to remain away. His library, which he bequeathed to his congregation, testified to his lit-

erary tastes. He was well educated in music, and especially in organ-playing. Living in the vicinity of Providence, he was brought into frequent personal intercourse with Mühlenberg, who here and there in his diary indicates that he appreciated the social qualities of his friend and colaborer Voigt. And it was Voigt who during Mühlenberg's last sickness and the days of his approaching end had free access to him, and who spoke to him words of consolation and encouragement.

We have already had occasion to speak of those two excellent men, John Fred. Schmidt and Justus H. Chr. Helmuth, both of whom arrived April 2, 1769, at Philadelphia. From their school-years they were united by the tenderest ties of friendship, and from 1786 until 1812—in which year Schmidt preceded his friend into eternity—also by the pastoral care of the Philadelphia congregation. Their most important activity and influence in the Church fall into the period subsequent to Mühlenberg's life, and we have to content ourselves with a few additional notices throwing some light upon their career and character.

After his arrival Schmidt assisted Mühlenberg for a short time at Philadelphia, and then followed the call to Germantown, serving, also, Barren Hill and some other outposts, which in subsequent years caused him very arduous labor. When, in 1772, Mühlenberg visited the congregations Bedminster, etc. in New Jersey, which by the removal of his son Peter to Virginia had become vacant, the name of Schmidt was mentioned, among others, as a possible successor. There were objections raised against a number of older and younger brethren whom Mühlenberg proposed. Of Schmidt the members of the vestry said that "in the pulpit he proved himself a good preacher, but had not salt enough" in his intercourse with the people. He had no desire to move to New Jersey. He was in 1772 married to the daughter of a former elder of the Germantown congregation who resided at Philadelphia, and there died in 1778. Schmidt enjoyed the high esteem of the congregations under his care. The former dissensions in the Germantown congregation had been succeeded by a bliss-

ful peace. When, in 1784, Kunze accepted the call to Christ Church at New York, and Schulze could not enter upon an official engagement at Philadelphia on account of the precarious condition of his health, Schmidt was appointed (June 29, 1785), by the vestry of the Philadelphia congregation, Helmuth's assistant, and Sept. 18th of the following year, by five hundred affirmative votes, was elected second pastor. Thus the friends were made colleagues; and it seems that this peculiar relation did not in any way interfere with their friendship, though it is said that when both pastors preached, as usual, at the same time—one in St. Michael's, the other in Zion—the people were seen standing on the pavement watching to which church the one or the other would turn, Helmuth invariably attracting the much larger audience. When, in 1770, after the removal of J. N. Kurtz to York, the Tulpehoken charge was vacant, and Schmidt paid a visit there during the latter part of August, and then turned his course toward Lancaster, his friend Helmuth came twenty-three miles to meet him. With all his solid learning, his eminent knowledge of Oriental languages, and all his other attainments, Schmidt was not a man much inclined to bring himself forward. It appears that he was of a retiring disposition and not desirous of much public notice, but there were those who knew how to appreciate his substantial erudition and his excellent character, and to this the title of doctor of divinity, given him by the University of Pennsylvania, testifies. During the fearful ravages of yellow fever at Philadelphia in 1793, when through the pestilence the congregation lost no less than six hundred and twenty-five of its members, he was himself attacked by the terrible disease, besides losing by it seven children, and shortly afterward the partner of his life. In those days of terror and affliction the vestry prohibited the pastors from following funerals to the graves. Thousands of citizens had fled from the city. The two friends and pastors remained at their post, faithfully doing their duty. After much bodily suffering, Schmidt died May 16, 1812, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. At the funeral Dr. Helmuth

spoke most affectingly on the words, "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan. Very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Sam. ii. 26). The second Sunday after burying his friend in front of the chancel in St. Michael's he held a solemn service in Zion, speaking on the words Rom. i. 16.

Helmuth, who was born in 1745 at Helmstedt in the dukedom of Brunswick, lost his father in very early life, was received in his fourteenth year into the Orphan-House at Halle, some years later attended the university there, and was afterward engaged as a teacher in the Francke institutions, where his eminent talent for teaching and preaching could not escape observation. When the call to Pennsylvania came, all his hesitation to accept of it was removed by the readiness of his intimate friend, Schmidt, to accompany him. When both had arrived at Philadelphia, and each of them had delivered a sermon, Mühlenberg in a letter to his friend Rev. Pasche at London alludes to the usual curiosity of the people to hear new preachers, and *sub rosa* communicates to him the popular opinion about both of them: "Concerning Mr. Helmuth they say, 'This youth suits America. He will, when riper in years, prove an excellent impressive preacher; in the pulpit he will excel even Mr. Schulze. He must be retained in Philadelphia: three men have enough work here; the old man [Mühlenberg] must be placed in an easier position.' Of Mr. Schmidt they say, 'He is also a promising young man, but does not come up to Helmuth. He stands in the pulpit like a stock, without moving a hand, as a schoolboy who has to recite a lesson, and, not having memorized it well, is afraid of punishment; he does not touch the heart, is rather dry, and falls in preaching into a singing manner, like Handschuh or Krug.'" In this quotation of popular opinion there is a lesson deserving to be remembered.

The good reports about Helmuth's preaching had already reached Lancaster, then vacant on account of Gerock's removal to New York. Mühlenberg accompanied Helmuth (Apr. 22, 1769) to Lancaster, visited a number of smaller con-

gregations of the neighborhood, and proceeded to York (where he had not visited for a considerable number of years), for the first time saw the recently-erected church; met Bager, and received from Raus, residing there, a letter full of hostile sentiments and charges of having caused persecution to the author of the letter. The vestry at Lancaster had meanwhile elected Helmuth their pastor. This Mühlenberg four days later (Sunday, May 21st) announced to the congregation, with the understanding that for a time he and Schulze should share with Helmuth the care of the congregation. Helmuth, however, was eminently successful in this new field. It was with the greatest reluctance that this congregation saw him leave and in 1779 accept a call to Philadelphia, where he had been elected (May 25th) by three hundred and fifty-six votes, some of the ballots also having on them the words "No Rector." There was no need of this allusion to a subject which for a time had unpleasantly agitated the congregation. In the charter of 1765, Mühlenberg had received that title, but it met with no sympathy in a German congregation, had even become offensive, and at the time of Helmuth's election was going out of use. In 1784 the latter was elected a member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, in the following year president of synod, and by the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania was made doctor of divinity. In that scholastic institution he held for eighteen years the chair of German and Oriental languages. July 4, 1770, he was married to Barbara, daughter of Henry Keppele, with whom he lodged for some time after moving to Philadelphia. In 1785 the congregation had paid all its debts, and erected, in 1786, a new parsonage, at the north-east corner of Fourth and Cherry streets. In 1785, assisted by his friend and colleague Schmidt, Helmuth began the preparation of young men for the sacred office, and succeeded in furnishing to the Church a number of pastors who are kept in well-deserved remembrance—among them, Rev. Messrs. J. G. Lochman, Endress, J. G. Schmucker, Miller, Baker, Goering, Batis. Helmuth was also a prolific author. In 1793 he published a work on bap-

tism and on the Holy Scriptures, an historical and interesting book in connection with the yellow-fever visitation, various tracts and some hymns, and also articles for the *Evangelical Magazine*, which appeared at Philadelphia under his editorship. In all his publications his talent can be clearly seen. But, while he retains substantially the creed and the forms of the older Pietism, and is not conscious of departing from Lutheran principles, and forcibly defends the orthodox faith against Rationalism, becoming, at times, rampant, his language is no longer that of a Spener or a H. A. Francke or a Mühlenberg, but is sentimental and declamatory, and shows the influence of a later neological period of German literature and theology. There is a truth in the old saying, *Qui mutat verba, mutat sensum.* As a preacher Helmuth was considered a man of most eminent endowment. It is reported that he had the habit of beginning with a low voice and in a very quiet manner. This produced close attention and complete quiet in his audience. When he had once excited the interest of his hearers, he kept them riveted to himself by the fluency of his speech, the beauty of his language, and the enthusiastic ardor which magnetically carried his hearers along. He was exceedingly felicitous in catechising children, and by his vivacity and natural kindness excited their interest in the subjects presented to them.

During the period in which Schmidt and Helmuth presided over the Philadelphia congregation attempts were made to introduce the English language into the public services. This led to very severe struggles, to much animosity, and even to lawsuits. The pastors were convinced that the introduction of the English into the old German congregation would in a short time end in the total expulsion of the German language and the Germans from the old spiritual homestead, and put succeeding immigrant generations where, at the arrival of Mühlenberg in 1742, the German Lutherans—having no church, no school, no graveyard—had been under immensely greater obstacles. But this is no reason why, with all goodwill and all their influence, they should not have assisted in

the formation of an English Lutheran church as a receptacle for those of their membership who could no longer be benefited by services held in the German language. The movement begun by such about the year 1806 under the auspices of Rev. Ph. Fr. Mayer, D. D., was, however, successful, and resulted in the organization of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran congregation and the erection of a large church-building. Helmuth resigned his charge in 1820, and five years later (Feb. 5, 1825) departed this life.

CHAPTER XXV.

1766 et seq.

Provost Wrangel returns to Sweden.—His relation to the Episcopal Church.—Mühlenberg's eldest son, J. Peter Gabriel, returns from Europe and devotes himself to the study of theology.—His further career.—H. M. Mühlenberg again visits the Raritan congregations, also Easton, Allentown, Macungie, Salisbury, Allemaengel, and White Hall—His sons Fred. Aug. Conrad and G. Henry Ernest return from Halle prepared for pastoral work.—They enter upon it.—Their further career.—Rev. J. Chr. Kunze.—His labors in Philadelphia, and later in New York.

ADMITTING, as we must, that the men who arrived here while Mühlenberg was yet in full vigor and energetic activity added, each of "them according to the ability which God giveth," strength to the cause of the Church and filled important stations, the Church, especially the Swedish branch of it, suffered a great loss in this part of the world by the return of Provost Wrangel to his native country in 1768. That the departure of this devoted friend and colaborer was most severely felt by Mühlenberg needs no remark. Wrangel may have erred in some of his views and intentions, but the sincerity of his heart cannot be doubted. He was undeniably inclined to unionistic principles and favored an amalgamation of the Lutheran and the Episcopal churches. His strongly-developed Pietism, his warm sympathy with Whitefield and his views and methods, caused some distrust among the Swedish pastors over whom he was placed as overseer. Wrangel may have been convinced that in consequence of the cessation of Swedish immigration the Swedish churches would before long have exclusively to use the English language in their worship. As these congregations would no longer make use of the services of pastors

directly sent from Sweden, and as there was here no school of divinity in which young men were educated to serve Lutheran congregations in the English language, he may have been convinced that it would be better for the Swedish Lutherans to be united with the Episcopal rather than with any other ecclesiastical body, since they could not well retain their individuality as Lutheran congregations. This explains why Rev. Rich. Peters, rector of Christ Church, and already known to us, says in the letter introducing Wrangel, under date Aug. 30, 1768, to the bishop of London, after alluding to the Presbyterians and to their harsh manners and principles: "Dr. Wrangel wants to take a just advantage of this general antipathy to the Presbyterians, and to unite the great body of Lutherans and Swedes with the Church of England, who, you know, are but few and in mean circumstances in this province; but were they united with the German Lutherans we should both become respectable." Already in 1765 it was rumored that Wrangel, in consequence of the complaints lodged against him by the Swedish pastors Borell, Wicksell, and Hegeblad, had received orders to return to Sweden; which orders, however, as Mühlenberg states, met with the opposition of the Swedish churches here and made no impression in Sweden. After nine years of labor in the foreign land he obeyed the call from Sweden, and Sept. 1, 1768, left Philadelphia, his field of arduous services on this side of the Atlantic, together with a host of friends, among whom none felt his loss more severely than did Mühlenberg, who also was anxious about his successor as provost, and about the position he would here take in relation to his own diocese and to the German Lutheran Church. This successor as provost and as pastor of Wicaco church was Andrew Goeranson, who had arrived here in 1766, continued to maintain the pleasant relation between Swedish and German Lutheran churches, was present at the synodical convention at Lancaster in 1772, accompanied Mühlenberg on his tour to dedicate St. Peter's Church, near Pikestown, Nov. 8th, continued in his offices here until 1779, left for his native country in 1785, and after

much suffering died in 1800. Wrangel, returning to Sweden by way of England, proved his friendship by making efforts to create among the Anglican Church people and in German Lutheran congregations of London an active sympathy for the German Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania, in which benevolent enterprise he was only partially successful. After his arrival in Sweden he was, as Clay asserts in his *Swedish Annals*, etc., created a bishop. He continued to correspond with his friend Mühlenberg, and in a letter of June 15, 1784, informs him that he would never forget either his friend or America, that his lot was now cast in pleasant places, and that he was rector of two congregations and provost of the district. The letter is dated from Sahla, in Sweden. He died in 1786, which fact Mühlenberg states April 22, 1787.

Two years before Wrangel returned to Sweden, Mühlenberg's first-born son, Peter, returned to his native country. It appears that after, for a time, receiving instruction in the Halle institutions the practical turn of his mind had very strongly shown itself, and, as he was inclined to the natural sciences, it was deemed proper to apprentice him for the term of six years to Niemeyer, a druggist at Lübeck, a relative of whom was in close connection with the Halle institutions. In his master's house young Peter did not enjoy the attention which his health needed, but proved faithful to his master for some time. Soon he found that here he could make no progress in the pursuit of natural sciences, as Niemeyer's business was of a very circumscribed character and essentially connected with articles which to the young aspirant afforded, indeed, no particular interest. He may also have felt that he was kept under undue restraint, and that so long an apprenticeship would bring to his employer advantages out of all proportion to the gains on his own side. But "one fine morning" he was found missing without having given any notice. Following his natural instinct, he had joined, as in those times many young men were wont to do, a military troop marching through the place in quest of recruits, and the captain had

appointed him secretary of the regiment.* Of course the step was an inconsiderate one, and it produced anxiety at Halle and grief to his parents beyond the Atlantic. Through the exertions of sympathizing friends he was, however, liberated from his engagement, received an honorable dismission from the colonel of his regiment, and found his way back to his native country. No doubt joy on account of the return of their first-born after three years of separation, and anxiety about his future, were mixed in the hearts of the parents. To the son himself all the hopes of gain by a thorough education in Germany may have appeared to be blasted. Yet he had passed through an experience which could not but leave a lasting impression for good and better prepare him for the hardships waiting for him. And now Wrangel, the true friend of the family, stepped in. He took Peter into his house and under his care, instructed him, directed his studies, stimulated the promising elements in his pupil, led him to a more spiritual life, and caused in him a desire to serve the interests of the kingdom of God on earth. As another instance of the influence which Wrangel exerted upon young candidates for the sacred office, we mention that Daniel Kuhn, son of a physician of Lancaster who also for a time held the office of mayor of the city, was furnished by Mühlenberg, in June, 1771, with letters of introduction, composed in Latin, to Wrangel, under whom, in Sweden, he intended to continue his theological studies. A brother of his had studied botany in Upsala under the famous Linnæus, and was afterward elected professor of botany and medicine in the Philadelphia college.

When Wrangel, in the winter and spring of 1768, was several times absent, Peter Mühlenberg, at the request of the vestry, preached to the Wicaco congregation, and by his efforts gave much satisfaction. His father had before on various occasions sent him to vacant congregations, which

* This whole episode in the life of General Peter Mühlenberg is fully elucidated from the material in the archives of the Halle Orphan-House by Rev. W. Germann, D. D., superintendent and church-counsellor at Wasungen, Sachsen-Meiningen (*Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, edited by H. A. Rattermann, vol. i., 1886, 1887, Cincinnati, Ohio: S. Rosenthal & Co.).

were well pleased with his conduct and his preaching. When Peter preached in the Wicaco church, the concourse of the members of the German Lutheran Church drawn by natural curiosity was so great that the ordinary Sunday collections in St. Michael's were sensibly diminished, and, the people requesting that Peter should also preach in St. Michael's, his father finally consented, and on Good Friday evening of that year allowed him to preach there on "The Burial of Christ." And here we cannot refrain from giving the father's own words as he wrote them in a letter of June 8th to Francke and Ziegenhagen: "When my permission was made public, there was such a concourse and throng in St. Michael's as never before had taken place, as they told me, since the church was erected. I did not go there, but stayed at home in my small chamber, feeling like a condemned publican and a worm, with tears praying the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls to defend this act against Satan's cunning and to grant that the good cause might not suffer through me or mine. After service the elders came to my house and congratulated me with much feeling on the sermon delivered by my son. I thanked them, but no one knoweth what is the state of my mind in anything of this sort, since I am slow to believe or trust in any good, either in myself or in my own, save what God's grace and mercy give. I could not take it ill in my brethren in Christ that they secretly, out of love to the cause, said to each other, 'God be praised! If the old man should depart, Providence has sent us a young substitute who in case of need may assist and comfort us.' Subsequently Peter preached several times in Barren Hill and Pikestown. I do not cease to supply him with the needful spiritual medicine serviceable for purification and healing, which I hope he will use. At the end of April I was necessitated to send him to the above-mentioned vacant charges which Pastor Schertlin had served before his death [Macungie and neighborhood], and from there to New Germantown and Bedminster in Jersey. Here he preached in German and English, and was quite acceptable to both parties. I my-

self never heard him preach, but I criticised all his compositions, though I found nothing to censure, as he 'ploughs with his heifer,' Dr. Wr." [Wrangel]. In the same year a number of Christianized Indians settled on the frontiers between New York and Pennsylvania petitioned the military authorities to establish schools among them, since missionaries had labored among them with some success. Richard Peters proposed Christian Streit, a native of New Jersey, born 1749, whom Mühlenberg after his graduation at the Philadelphia college had taken to his house, and who with Peter enjoyed his and Wrangel's instruction; was licensed in 1769 to preach to the congregations at Greenwich and vicinity in New Jersey and at Easton, Pa., was ordained Oct. 25, 1770, had during the War of Independence a call to a military chaplaincy; served (1778–82) the Lutheran church at Charleston, S. C., then, until 1785, the New Hanover charge in Pennsylvania, and then the one at Winchester, Va., where he remained, exercising much wholesome influence upon a large sphere, until his death, March 10, 1812. Peters also proposed Peter Mühlenberg, certainly not without a belief in his ability, yet also keeping in mind the fact that the memory of his grandfather, Conrad Weiser, was cherished by the Indians in that part of the country, that they considered him their friend and counsellor, and that they had adopted him into their nation—an honor rarely bestowed. It seems that neither of these young men was unwilling to accept the call to the Indians, but their services were needed in a field nearer to them.

Peter Mühlenberg was examined at the synodical convention, June 20, 1769, licensed, and continued to labor in the congregations of New Germantown, Bedminster, etc. in New Jersey, which had for some time desired him as an assistant or a substitute for his father, who was still the acknowledged pastor of the charge. He sent regular reports to his father of his labors, and it seems that his pastoral work was indeed a work of love with him and gave him much satisfaction. On the occasion of Helmuth's marriage, in 1770, he composed poetical congratulations in German, and his father, to whom

he sent his verses for criticism, fully acknowledged the good intentions, but says: "As I found that he has the gift of rhyming, but not that of poetry, according to the present elevated taste, I kept them back, *triti proverbii haud immemor: Si tacuisses, philosophus mansisses.*" In the same year (Nov. 6th) Peter was married to Anna Barbara Meyer of Philadelphia. Of his children, only two sons and a daughter survived him. Their descendants are found in most honorable positions. These two sons, both Lutherans, were Major Peter Mühlenberg, U. S. A., father of Francis P. Mühlenberg, major U. S. A., who entered Vicksburg with General Grant's army at the surrender of the city, and Francis L. Mühlenberg, lawyer and member of Congress from Ohio.

In the spring of the following year Peter Mühlenberg received a letter which in its consequences unexpectedly caused an entire change in his career, and which we give to our readers:

"Rev. Sir: I have been requested by the vestry of a vacant charge in Virginia to use my endeavors to find a person of an unexceptionable character, either ordained or desirous of obtaining ordination in the clergy of the Church of England, who is capable of preaching both in the English and in the German languages. The Living, as established by the Laws of the Land with Perquisites is of the value of Two hundred and Fifty Pounds Pennsylvania currency, with a Parsonage House and a Farm of at least Two hundred Acres of Extremely Good Land with every other convenient Out House belonging to the same, which will render it very convenient for a Gentleman's Seat. And having just now received a Character and Information of You from Mr. John Vanorden of Brunswick, I am very inclinable to believe, You would fully answer the expectations of the people of that Parish; the Gentleman of whom I have had information does not know, whether You are ordained by the Bishop of London or not. However, be that as it will, if You can come well recommended to the Vestry, they will recommend You in

such a manner as to make Your ordination certain. If You should think those Proposals worth Your acceptance, I shall be glad You would write me an Answer to be left in Philadelphia at the Sign of the Cross Keys, where I shall stay a few days on my return home, when, if I find You inclined to accept of this Living, You may expect to hear further from me, directed to the care of the Gentleman, of whom I have been favored with the information, which I have received.

"I am, tho' unacquainted, Rev. Sir, Y. Ob. Serv.,

"JAMES WOOD.

"NEW YORK, 4th May, 1771.

"P. S. If You should determine to go to London, I make no Doubt of the Vestry advancing sufficient Sum to defray the expenses."

James Wood was a justice of Winchester, Va. His letter had a decisive effect. Soon after receiving the invitation Peter Mühlenberg visited the field of labor in Virginia, furnished with an introduction by the Rev. Rich. Peters, D. D., in the strongest terms recommending him as a "young and promising Divine, who is of amiable disposition and has great Esteem amongst both the Lutherans and English," and promising similar letters in his behalf from himself, Dr. Smith, and Rev. Duché to bishops and archbishops in England. It appears that the Lutherans who in large numbers had emigrated from Pennsylvania to Virginia and settled in the valley of the Blue Ridge, especially in and about Woodstock, were much pleased with the candidate for their vacant parish, and that he also felt greatly attracted by the surroundings to which he was invited. Bidding farewell to his congregations in New Jersey, he prepared himself to go to England to receive Episcopal ordination, without which, in Virginia, he would have no legal standing as a clergyman. He did not intend to change any of his convictions, and the Lutheran synod, to which he belonged, did not consider him as separating himself from its connection, which to us appears rather anomalous. He sailed for England March 2, 1772. The document

of ordination given to him, and preserved by his descendants, states that Peter Mühlenberg, "our beloved in Christ, a literate person, of whose virtuous and pious life and conversation and competent learning in Holy Scriptures we were well assured," was on Tuesday, the 21st of April, 1772, ordained by Edmund of Ely in Mayfair Chapel, Westminster, London, to the holy order of deacon, according to the manner and form prescribed and used by the Church of England, "having first in our presence taken the oaths appointed by law to be taken for and instead of the oath of supremacy, and also having freely and voluntarily subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion and to the three articles of the Thirty-six Canons." He was ordained as a priest April 23d, at the King's Chapel of St. James, by the bishop of London, in company with Rev. Braidfoot of Virginia and Rev. White, later the highly-honored bishop of Pennsylvania.* In the fall of 1772, Peter Mühlenberg settled at Woodstock, and carried on his pastoral labors to the great satisfaction of his parishioners. There is no proof that he ever received ordination as a Lutheran pastor and a voting member of the Lutheran ministerium. That, however, in spite of his abnormal position, he was considered a Lutheran minister may be gathered, not only from the fact that he served a Lutheran charge, but also from this, that in behalf of the Lutheran synod he visited Lutheran congregations east of Woodstock—or Staufferstadt, as Krug, who during his tour to Strassburg visited here and comforted many with the prospect that Father Mühlenberg might pay them a visit when his son Peter would move there, calls it—and investigated the case of Rev. J. Schwarbach, who as a licensed Lutheran minister officiated in congregations in Augusta county, Va. That Peter Mühlenberg, when the great political excitement broke out in full force against England, and resulted in establishing the American provinces as an independent country and nation, was led by his patriotism to change the service of the *ecclesia militans* for that of *patria militans*, that as an officer of the Continental army he rose to

* This we maintain, notwithstanding other affirmations.

high honor and afterward was elected vice-president of the State of Pennsylvania and to other responsible offices of the State and of the United States,—these in their detail belong to the history of his native country, and, interesting as the facts are, cannot here receive special attention. We deem it proper, however, to add that the relation between himself and his father was not seriously affected by Peter Mühlenberg's unexpected step from the pastoral to the military office, though it was undoubtedly against the feelings of the father, who in a letter to his friend Sebast. Fabricius, at Halle, says that his writing and warning from the great distance had been in vain. He could fully appreciate the motives influencing his son, and could understand the duties thereby incurred to such an extent that in a letter to him of Nov. 20, 1778, when the son's wife was in a condition which made the presence of her husband exceedingly desirable, he said that, notwithstanding this, the duties of his responsible position had now the first claim upon him, and that family affairs could not free him from that claim. At the close of the letter he admonishes the son not to cease to be a Christian in his present relation, and adds the remarkable sentiment that a soldier unless he be a Christian will finally prove a coward. Peter Mühlenberg certainly never was found to be a coward in the Revolutionary War—in which he fought and suffered from its commencement to its close—nor at any other time. He died, as he had lived, in the Lutheran faith, Oct. 1, 1807, at Philadelphia. His mortal remains rest with those of his parents on the east side of the venerable Augustus Church at Providence. His tombstone says that "he was brave in the field, faithful in the cabinet, honorable in all his transactions—a sincere friend and an honest man."

During the months of June and July, 1770, Father Mühlenberg had undertaken a tour to the New Jersey congregations of New Germantown, Bedminster, etc.; tried while there, under considerable difficulties and without any favorable results, a recently-discovered mineral spring, and found his son Peter in full activity as his assistant in the pastoral work; then he

visited Easton and neighboring congregations, proceeded to Allentown, where Friderici (sometimes found Frederick), his former fellow-student at Göttingen, then lived in straitened circumstances; visited a relative of his family six miles distant, and spent some days at Macungie, Salisbury, Allemaengel (Albany), Rosenthal, and White Hall, in some places instructing the young, holding public services, and encouraging his younger brethren whom he met there in their pastoral field of labor—Chr. Streit at Easton, Van Buskirk at Macungie, Jung (Young) at White Hall. It appears that after his return to Philadelphia, on July 13th, he had intended during the autumn to visit New York, but on Sept. 22d his sons Frederick Augustus Conrad and G. Henry Ernest, returning from Halle after an absence of more than six years, landed, in company with the Rev. John Christopher Kunze, at New York, where they paid their respects to Hausihl and Gerock, and finally arrived (Sept. 26th) at Philadelphia. These two sons had faithfully attended to their classical and theological studies, and enjoyed the good opinion of their superiors at Halle. Rev. Dr. Knapp, after the death of G. A. Francke (died Sept. 2, 1769) præses of the Halle institutions, writes (Apr. 26, 1771) to their father that, having learned that the Holy Spirit had begun to influence their hearts, and that now they had already entered upon pastoral work in the Pennsylvania congregations, he deems it proper to defray their travelling expenses out of charitable contributions collected for the missions in Pennsylvania. Kunze's travelling expenses were defrayed by Ziegenhagen in London.

There can be no doubt that in the scholastic course at Halle these two sons were trained as having the ministerial office in view. This was apparently also in the mind of the father, who sent directions to Halle that his two sons there, in addition to the *studium catechcticum*, should especially be made proficient in singing, in the playing of chorals, and in the science of thorough-bass, which he knew would be of great use for the pastoral office: he adds as a special motive that he had in this country earned his first half year's board-

ing by giving instruction in music, had gained friends by his musical attainments, and had so favorably impressed Father Conrad Weiser's mind "that he did not object to my marrying his daughter, since I had during my first visit at his house played for him on his cabinet-organ melodies of the Halle hymns and accompanied them by singing." When the sons arrived here they were considered candidates for the sacred office. As such they were invited (Oct. 7th) to hold public services at Zion Church—one in the morning, the other in the evening. Of course the whole town knew of them and had heard of their return to their native country, and curiosity on that occasion reached its acme. The church was crowded. Father Mühlenberg's request that Hon. Schoemaker, the mayor of the city, would station two constables at the church on that day—a request willingly granted—was not unreasonable, since many different elements of the population were represented. The sons acquitted themselves quite creditably. Both of them were ordained at the meeting of synod Oct. 25, 1770, as *collaboratores ministerii*, or assistant ministers—an act which (especially in the case of the younger one, G. Henry Ernest, at that time not yet fully seventeen years of age, while the elder one was not yet quite twenty-one years), even considering the pressure of circumstances, can hardly be defended. We are informed about the *tentamen* which Gotth. Henry Ernest first had to undergo. Voigt was appointed *examinator*. The candidate had to translate the first Psalm from Hebrew into Latin, and in the same language to answer exegetical and analytical questions. His knowledge of the Hebrew gave uncommon satisfaction to the ministerium. Afterward the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John was treated in the same manner. The result of the examination was of such a character that doubts arising from the youth of the candidate no longer had any influence. His older brother's examination seems to have given no less satisfaction. He, Fred. Aug. Conrad, had at an academic festivity at Halle delivered an oration in English. During their protracted absence from America they had both, however, become so

thoroughly Germanized that in December, 1772, in a letter to his father, the older complains that he could not yet with proper facility use the English. We know, however, that in the course of time this defect was completely removed.

Before the end of 1770, Frederick Aug. Con. Mühlenberg moved, with his brother-in-law, Rev. Chr. Em. Schulze, to Tulpehoken as his assistant, and had the Schaeffertown congregation under his special pastoral care, at the same time serving a considerable number of the Lebanon congregation, who were dissatisfied with the services of J. C. Stoever, who died suddenly in 1779. He was married to a daughter of Fred. Schaefer, a member of the vestry of the Philadelphia congregation. During the year 1773 he paid a visit to New York, and received a call from Christ Church, then vacant on account of Gerock's removal to Baltimore. It seems that in the same year he settled in New York, where he was quite successful as a pastor and was held in good esteem. In a letter of Jan. 10, 1774, he informs his father, then in Georgia, that the Lutheran ministers in the province of New York intended to hold a conference in the month of April. This we may consider the beginning of the formation of the ministerium of New York as a separate organization, which was, however, not formally established before 1786. When the war broke out in 1776, and English troops were concentrated at New York and English war-ships were expected there, F. A. C. Mühlenberg first sent his family to Philadelphia, and, following himself, was there on the world-renowned Fourth of July. He then joined his father (who, without having resigned the Philadelphia congregation, had retired to Providence), assisted him for a time in the care of that charge, and in 1777 moved to New Hanover to take pastoral care of that part of the field, and soon afterward of Oley and New Goshenhoppen. The position of a pastor was in those turbulent times anything but an enviable one. Financial relations were altogether disturbed; the people had to bear burdens before unknown. In addition to this, views on political questions diverged greatly, and, no matter to what party a man be-

longed, he could not avoid having opponents. Pastors especially had greatly to suffer under such circumstances. F. A. C. Mühlenberg was hardly able in his position to eke out an existence, and had to look out for a change to support his family. To the English he was well known as a supporter of the American cause. His friends exerted themselves in his behalf. It was then said that the Germans ought to have a representative of their particular interests in Congress; for this position he seemed to be peculiarly well qualified. March 2, 1779, he was elected a member of the same, and in August quitted the pastoral office and entered into the political arena, in which he remained, serving the United States and his own native State, enjoying the highest regard on account of his intellectual and moral qualities, and on various occasions being called to the highest posts of responsibility and honor. He died, fifty-one years old, June 4, 1801. His father, not insensible of the honor done to his son by his election as a member of the Continental Congress and afterward as Speaker of the Pennsylvania Legislature and head of the council of censors, nevertheless had misgivings about his entering into the political field, and (Nov. 21, 1780) wrote to him, in his usual somewhat quaint and humorous style, that he had learned, not without some fright, that *vox populi ex parte* had now "made him a driver in these critical times to guide the car of state through narrow defiles, with precipices on the right and on the left, amid storms from above." *Vox populi*, he says, is very variable (Acts xiv. 11, 12, 13, 19; xix. 28). He admonishes his son to pray with penitent and fervent supplications for more than ordinary wisdom from on high, and by fasting to strive to retain it, like David and others; otherwise, a terrible fall might ensue, to the injury of children and of children's children. To be a fellow-passenger on the car he considered dangerous enough in these times; much more so the position of the driver under circumstances "when the most experienced do not know how to get through without upsetting." We have little doubt that in the ups and downs of his political career the son sometimes recalled

the words of his father. When he was wanted in Ebenezer, Georgia, it for a while seemed as if the gates of the sanctuary would reopen to regain the son for its services. The people there already began to hope that they would have him as their pastor, and to repair their church-building; circumstances, however, interfered to prevent it. But his parents rejoiced when he came at intervals, with his wife and seven children, to pay his respects, and, gathered together, they all as one chorus sang the well-known old church-hymns and soul-stirring melodies. And the aged father and grandfather never failed to note such incidents in his diary.

Gotthilf Henry Ernest Mühlenberg, the youngest of the three brothers who grew up to manhood, was for a time after his ordination the assistant of his father in the Philadelphia charge. Throughout his career he remained true to his ordination vow. It is strange that for some time his education at Halle gave more trouble than that of his elder brother, Frederick A. Conrad. Even (July 12, 1766) after the two brothers had spent three years in the Halle institutions, Dr. G. A. Francke says in one of his letters that the older of the two was of a much more manageable disposition than the younger, who sometimes occasioned considerable difficulty in matters of submission to authority. We cannot forget that G. Henry E. was a child of ten years when he was sent to Halle, that he was without the guiding and advising influence of a mother, and that to the young American boy, accustomed in his childhood to a much larger range of personal liberty, the strict rules and the rigorous discipline of the Halle schools naturally appeared very irksome. But the same letter states that Henry had a stronger intellectual endowment than his brother, and that there was no complaint as to his progress in study. Sept. 5, 1767, Francke again testifies to the good behavior of the older brother, and says that the younger also gives less cause for dissatisfaction, and, having good mental faculties and much application, makes good progress in his studies, and in this respect surpasses the other —shows, however, an inclination to be headstrong and ambi-

tious. Both, he adds, are at the head of their respective classes. May 20, 1769, Helmuth, whom after his arrival in the New World Father Mühlenberg had conducted to Lancaster, received there a letter from Henry from Halle, wherein, among other things, the writer states that he began to feel the influences of the Holy Spirit on his soul—information than which no news could have been more welcome to the friend and to the father.

The son's services to the congregation at Philadelphia were quite acceptable when, toward the end of 1770, he entered upon his duties as an assistant of his father and of Kunze, his brother-in-law. From January to April, 1772, Henry labored in the churches in New Jersey, which his brother Peter had vacated, and then returned to Philadelphia. When, in 1772, the father, with Kunze, visited the synodical conference at Lancaster, and when both of them were absent from Sept. 25th to Oct. 8th, all the pastoral care of the large congregation devolved on G. Henry E. Mühlenberg, then nineteen years old. After returning the father was glad to state in his diary: "From all sides I hear that my son Henry performed during our absence the duties of his office to the satisfaction of the people, though much was laid upon him, and, in addition to all other official acts, he had to attend to twelve burials of children." In the following year he received a call from the New Jersey congregations, New Germantown, etc. After Peter Mühlenberg's departure to Virginia in the preceding year, Father Mühlenberg had made efforts to fill the vacancy, but had not succeeded. Being still the regular pastor or rector of the charge, he felt his responsibility, and in April and May, 1773, paid a protracted visit there; and the result was that, with their consent, the united vestries of those congregations gave to G. Henry E. Mühlenberg a call to labor among them as the substitute, or *adjunctus*, of his father. He held, however, from December, 1772, in Philadelphia a position of an official character, as the vestry there, with the consent of the congregation, had formally elected him assistant pastor in the Philadelphia congregation and at St. Peter's, Barren Hill.

But now he accepted the call to New Jersey, where the field of labor was all his own, and where he could prove of what mettle he was. He acquitted himself here to the great satisfaction of the people, but had, meanwhile, not been forgotten at Philadelphia. The hope that Schulze would return to Philadelphia, where he stood in the highest esteem, had to be given up, though it arose again a few years later, and with no better result. A regular third pastor was needed; Father Mühlenberg's strength was naturally decreasing with his advancing years, while the demands of the congregation were increasing, and Kunze devoted a part of his time to other duties. It was therefore (March 23, 1774) resolved that G. Henry E. Mühlenberg should be proposed to the congregation by the vestry as the third regular pastor, and that on Easter Monday, Apr. 4th, a regular election should be held. On Apr. 5th the rector, Father Mühlenberg, was informed that his son Henry was elected third pastor by two hundred votes out of two hundred and fifty-three. This election was a positive and strong proof that G. Henry E. Mühlenberg, who was then almost twenty-one years of age, could with much encouragement re-enter upon the Philadelphia field of labor. Having accepted the call, and carrying with him most satisfactory testimonials from the New Jersey congregations, he moved to Philadelphia and entered upon his pastoral duties, which were interrupted by his temporary withdrawal to Providence when, during the war, the English occupied Philadelphia from Sept. 26, 1777, until June 18, 1778. The young Mühlenbergs were in those days as a thorn in the flesh to the English and to the traitors to the cause of freedom. Having returned to the city, he continued his labors until April, 1779, when, under circumstances to which at a future period allusion will be made, he abruptly resigned, and on the 15th of that month delivered his farewell sermon. He had already a call from the New Hanover congregation. When Helmuth was called to Philadelphia from Lancaster, and Schulze of Tulpehoken declined the call to Lancaster, G. Henry E. Mühlenberg received at the meeting of synod at Tulpehoken the

call to the latter place, and in 1780 moved to that locality, where, at the head of a large congregation and with his labors attended by many blessings, he enjoyed the highest esteem, continuing until his death, May 23, 1815. While he was very conscientious in the performance of his pastoral duties—of which his many manuscripts give ample proof—he devoted his leisure hours to the study of the natural sciences, and especially to the science of botany. In this latter branch he excelled to a high degree. It has been stated by Prof. Dr. J. M. Maisch of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, in an address delivered May 1, 1886, that G. H. E. Mühlenberg's interest in botany dated from the time of his retirement from Philadelphia to the country. To his father such studies may have appeared to be no more than dilettanteism, and he gives vent to his feelings in a letter of Apr. 3, 1780, saying that he had learned that his son Henry had already no less than sixty catechumens under his care at Lancaster, and adding, "this is more fruitful and blessed than to collect *varianten* and herbs." Whether, with theologians, he understands under *varianten* diverse readings of the old manuscripts of the Bible we leave undecided. But the collecting of plants by his son was indeed connected with solid study. He was acknowledged as maintaining in his time the highest rank in that science; various plants discovered and classified by him were named in honor of him; he was in correspondence with the first authorities in that field of knowledge in Europe and in America, and in its interests was visited by men of the highest renown —among them, Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland on their return from South America and Mexico. Deputies from the emperor of Austria sent to this country paid him their respects and with attention viewed his botanical and mineralogical collections. Many literary, philosophical, and scientific associations were proud to count him among their members. The University of Pennsylvania honored him with the degree of master of arts; the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, with that of doctor of divinity. But his interest in his pastoral office and his love for the spiritual work

are most apparent when we read his letters from Lancaster addressed to his aged father, informing him of his pastoral experiences, his studies, and his efforts to prove himself a faithful steward. Of his descendants we mention his sons, F. A. Mühlenberg, M. D., who as a physician and citizen stood in the highest esteem at Lancaster, and the Hon. H. A. Mühlenberg, ambassador of the United States to Austria; and his grandsons, H. H. Mühlenberg, M. D., for many years entrusted with a highly-responsible position at Reading, Pa., the Hon. H. A. Mühlenberg, State Senator of Pennsylvania and member of Congress, and Rev. F. A. Mühlenberg, D. D., formerly president of Mühlenberg College, at Allentown, Pa., now incumbent of the chair of Greek Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. We add that Rev. W. A. Mühlenberg, D. D., well known as the author of the hymn "I would not live alway" and as a Christian philanthropist, was a grandson of Hon. Fred. Aug. Con. Mühlenberg.

John Christopher Kunze, the companion of the two younger sons of H. M. Mühlenberg on their return to their native land, was, of all the missionaries sent from Halle to Pennsylvania, one of the most gifted and the most scholarly. In church affairs his eye encompassed a large range, and with a wide intellect he combined an energetic will. He was born at Artern, not far from Mansfeld, but, his parents moving to Rosleben, about nine miles from Artern, he here received the rudiments of his education. His father had kept an inn in connection with a country store and was in comfortable circumstances. All this changed at Rosleben, and the change was for the better. Of his mother, whom death soon took away, he speaks, in a fragment of an autobiography still in possession of his descendants, in the highest terms and with much filial affection as of a godly woman whose love of God and man, sincerity, and other excellences of a truly Christian character left a deep impression upon the mind of her children. It seems that the death of the mother served to improve the spiritual character of the father. A wagoner who once for a night lodged in the house gave a very impressive

description of the order, beauty, and godly condition which he found in the Orphan-House at Halle. Kunze's brother—then a child five years old, later pastor at Nautschau in the Reuss principality—attentively listened to the narrative, and when the narrator had gone most pitifully entreated his parents to send him to Halle. And, indeed, after some time he was sent there, and three other sons—among them the author of the autobiographical fragment—and even three daughters. When John Christopher had gone through the preparatory course at Halle and at the high schools at Rosleben and Merseburg, he devoted three years to the study of theology at Leipsic, three others he spent as teacher in the then celebrated classical school at Klosterbergen near Magdeburg, and one year at Greitz as inspector of the orphan-house in this town. Here the call to America came to him through Rev. J. G. Knapp, D. D., chairman of the board of directors of the Halle institutes. With the two young Mühlenbergs he left Halle May 5, 1770. After his arrival at New York (Sept. 22d) efforts were made to keep him as a colleague of Gerock at Christ Church. He declined on that occasion to settle at New York, as to him, when ordained at Wernigerode, a call signed by Knapp and Ziegenhagen was given, appointing him third pastor of the Philadelphia congregation. Schulze was still considered second pastor, but moved to Tulpehoken. And now Kunze at once zealously entered upon his pastoral labors, and added to them as much as circumstances demanded and as his strength permitted. In the summer of 1771 he established a household of his own by marrying Mühlenberg's daughter Margaretta Henrietta, then not quite twenty years old. After his arrival he had been for a quarter of a year an inmate of Mühlenberg's house. Already in the synodical meeting of 1769 the desirableness and necessity of a theological seminary was acknowledged; Kunze soon sought to supply the want. At his instigation a society was formed to this end, contributions were received, and on Feb. 16, 1773, the Philadelphia *Staatsanzeiger* informed the public of the opening of the school. The pastors of the Lutheran congregation—

assisted by John Chr. Leps, a Dane, who himself received from Kunze theological instruction, and who a few years later officiated as a pastor at Loonenburg on the Hudson, but in 1782 retired upon a small piece of ground near Macungie, Pa. —were to give instruction in the preparatory branches, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, geography, history, mathematics, elocution, composition, and in the German and the English language. The design at that time was to prepare young men for the higher study of theology. In the following year a lottery was contemplated to enable the society to discharge its financial obligations. But the times were too turbulent to favor an institution of this kind, though at the synodical meeting at Philadelphia on June 14, 1773, a public examination with thirteen scholars was solemnly held. The whole enterprise came to an end in 1776. The following years afforded Kunze little pleasure. Father Mühlenberg moved in 1776 to Providence; his son Henry followed him in 1777, to remain until the English had retired from Philadelphia. Between him, his brother Frederick Aug. Con., and Kunze, their brother-in-law, a serious rupture soon afterward took place. Kunze made formal charges against Henry before Præses J. N. Kurtz. Henry resigned in 1779; Kunze was left alone in Philadelphia, as Father Mühlenberg was unable to give much assistance and Schulze refused to return. When Helmuth of Lancaster was elected at Philadelphia (Aug. 25, 1779) the prospects seemed fair for pastors and for congregation. The two pastors were uncommonly able men; both held positions, also, in the university as professors. Kunze was also made in 1783 a doctor of divinity—an honor given to Helmuth two years later. But on various points there was a difference of views. Kunze, though his talent and his zeal were acknowledged and though he had many admirers, had opponents in the congregation, and in 1784 he accepted a call to Christ Church at New York, succeeded in uniting with it the remnants of the old Dutch congregation, and instilled new vitality into the Lutheran cause in New York. He was farsighted enough to see that unless Lutheranism were represented in the pulpit and by

congregations in the English language it could have no future in this country. That his efforts in this direction were not crowned with desirable results was not his fault. He endeavored to organize an independent ministerium of New York, and it was effected in 1786 with three clergymen and two laymen. His fertile mind gave the public of his days, and especially the Lutherans, a number of publications calculated more to counteract rationalism and infidelity—which in the last quarter of the eighteenth century began to permeate the masses of the people—than to elucidate the peculiarities of the Lutheran system of doctrine. His interest in the apologetical department of theology moved him to desire from Germany all the publications produced in connection with the controversy aroused by Semler, after 1751 professor at Halle and colleague of Francke, Knapp, and other men of the same type, and not without cause called the father of Rationalism in Germany. Kunze never ceased gathering knowledge. He read pen in hand. Books in which he entered items taken from a great variety of publications, and referring to geography, natural science, history, biography, commerce, etc., are still preserved. Soon after settling in New York he was appointed professor of Oriental languages in Columbia College. In vain he waited for some years for students and for a salary. Neither of them appeared, and he found that empty titles are a cheap commodity. He resigned as professor in 1787, resumed the office again in 1792, and held the title for three years more. He remained in the board of trustees until his death. In 1784 he was among the originators of the "Society for Useful Knowledge," and was a member of the "German Benevolent Society of Pennsylvania" and of the "New York German Society." When the American Congress met at New York in 1785, Kunze was sworn in as German interpreter. At the time of the eclipse of the moon on June 16, 1806, he published *A Table of a new construction for calculating the great eclipse, expected to happen on the 16th of June*, 1806, *by J. C. Kunze, Dr. and Prof. of Divinity, Senior, etc.*, 1806, and thereby proved his eminent attainments

in the higher branches of mathematics. We may say that he first moved to give the Lutherans in America a religious literature of their own in the English language. Wrangel alone preceded him herein by publishing Luther's Small Catechism in English. He and H. M. Mühlenberg frequently used the English language in preaching the gospel. Kunze published, in 1785, "Rudiments of the Shorter Catechism of Luther, chiefly for the use of Lutheran congregations in America, to which is annexed an Abridgment of the Principles of the Evangelical Religion." We here refer our readers to the most instructive monographs on "Editions and Translations of Luther's Small Catechism, published or used in America," and "Explanations of Luther's Small Catechism prepared for use in America," by Rev. B. M. Schmucker, D. D., in the *Lutheran Church Review* (April and July, 1886), where, on p. 171, Dr. Kunze's publication is specially noticed. When he introduced English into the Lutheran services for those who no longer understood the German language, he published for such services, and in connection with a young pastor, George Strebech, *A Hymn and Prayer book. For the use of such Lutheran churches as use the English language. Collected by John C. Kunze, Senior of the Lutheran Clergy of the State of New York. New York, printed and sold by Hurtin & Commartinger*, 1795. *Small* 12*mo*, p. viii. 305, 163. The title of the book is rather too narrow, and does not indicate all the variety of the contents. No less than one hundred and forty-four of the two hundred and thirty-nine hymns in the book are translations from the German. Many of the hymns are good; the translations, in the judgment of competent critics, are unsatisfactory. We cannot enter here upon an enumeration of all the publications, sermons, orations, essays, etc. edited by Kunze. We add that a number of pastors of the Lutheran Church owed their theological education to his ability and to his love of the work.

Dr. Kunze died at the age of sixty-three years, at New York, July 24, 1807.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

1773–1775.

Mühlenberg is requested to pay another visit to Ebenezer, Ga.—Difficulties in this congregation, and between Rev. Chr. Rabenhorst and Rev. Chr. Fr. Triebner.—Mühlenberg's manifold cares before the voyage.—Another visit to the Raritan churches.—Synodical meeting of 1773.—Members of synod.—Plans for a theological seminary and an orphan-house.—Hartwig's restlessness.—Difficulties at Reading.—Rev. Ph. J. Grotz.—Mühlenberg again visits New York.—His son Frederick Aug. pastor of the German Lutheran congregation there.—Hausihl pastor of the Dutch Lutheran congregation.—The Swedish pastors J. Wicksell and Nic. Collin.—Barren Hill and Germantown.—Rev. J. F. Riess.—Rev. J. Chr. Leps of Loonenburg.—Mühlenberg's letters to Grotz and to a member of the Lutheran congregation at Charleston, S. C.—Corner-stone of a church laid at Pikestown.

IN a previous chapter we stated that H. M. Mühlenberg had landed at Charleston, S. C., Sept. 22, 1742, and then, travelling by the way of Savannah, from Oct. 4th to Oct. 11th paid a visit to the Salzburg Lutheran congregation at Ebenezer. No less than thirty-two years had now passed, and it could hardly be expected that, in his advancing years and in the decline of health and strength, after a very laborious life and enduring many severe hardships, he would once more visit that congregation and exercise a beneficial influence in the endeavor to restore order and peace, which, with distressing circumstances, had been seriously disturbed. But it appears that already in 1773 letters from Europe informed Mühlenberg of the condition of things in Ebenezer, and impressed him with the necessity of undertaking a voyage to that distant place.

At an earlier stage of our narrative we had occasion to mention the Rev. Sam. Urlsperger, D. D., senior of the Lutheran clergy at Augsburg and the tried friend of the Halle Fathers.

From the beginning of the persecution which the Salzburg Evangelicals had suffered in their native land he had proved a warm and influential sympathizer and benefactor to them, had favored the plan to transport them to Georgia, had co-operated in its execution, and was during his life considered their patron. He held to them the same relation as the Halle Fathers held to the united congregations in Pennsylvania. He also published reports in reference to their condition and progress, and interested many charitable people in Germany in their behalf. After his death, in 1772, his son, John August, who succeeded him in his pastoral office, kept up the interest manifested by his father for the Salzburgers at Ebenezer. When the news of the unfortunate and distracted disturbances at Ebenezer reached him, and after his letters and his admonitions had proved of no avail, as a last measure he proposed, with the consent of Ziegenhagen at London and other friends, that Mühlenberg should visit Ebenezer and exert himself to unite the disunited, restore good understanding and peace, and adjust certain financial difficulties which had exercised a disturbing influence in the congregation.

The letter of Rev. Dr. J. A. Urlsperger which officially empowered Mühlenberg to act as an arbitrator at Ebenezer is dated Feb. 2, 1773. To this letter Ziegenhagen at London gave his full consent and his signature July 15, 1773.

The instructions which Dr. J. A. Urlsperger gave to Mühlenberg in a special document as a guide for his action sufficiently indicate the state of affairs at Ebenezer. The two pastors then serving the congregation were Christian Rabenhorst and Christopher Frederick Triebner. Between these two men—of whom Rabenhorst had served prior to the arrival of Triebner—very serious discord had broken out. Rabenhorst was charged by his colleague with being stubborn, despotic, and negligent of church discipline with a view to his personal advantage. The same charges were also brought against Triebner, with the addition that he was of an uncompromising disposition and inclined to be arbitrary in matters of church discipline. Each of these two pastors had his adherents, and

in this way the whole life of the congregation was disturbed and the work of the Holy Spirit impeded. Mühlenberg was expected impartially to investigate the charges, to advise as best he could, and to endeavor to re-establish peace. We find that there had been dissensions in the Ebenezer congregation before the arrival of Rev. Triebner. The Ebenezer people had erected mills, which, though very much needed and very useful, had, on account of their management, occasioned much altercation and dissatisfaction. As these mills had been erected from the charitable donations coming from Augsburg and London, Urlsperger maintained that their revenues were under the absolute control of the representatives of the donors, and should, according to their decision, be employed for the benefit of the Ebenezer congregation. In this matter Mühlenberg was expected to listen also to the opinions presented to him, and to give a decision.

Rev. Rabenhorst had bought a plantation belonging to the congregation and entered into a contract for the payment of the money; Mühlenberg was to investigate whether he had properly carried out the conditions of his contract. In other respects, also, Mühlenberg was minutely to inform himself about the whole state of the congregation, and to make there a regular and authoritative visitation. He was also advised to render to Rabenhorst the honors due to his seniority in the office, while Rev. Triebner was not on this account to be treated as a subordinate. They should live and labor together in unity, according to Ps. cxxxiii. Mühlenberg was also requested so to define the sphere of action for each of the two pastors as to avoid collisions as much as possible, to insist upon the cheerful assistance each of the other in cases of necessity, and to inquire whether it was indispensably necessary that two pastors should be stationed in the congregation. He should also introduce a proper order for public services at Ebenezer, to inquire how much the members contributed to the support of the pastors, to abolish whatever he found to be injurious to the pastoral office or to the membership, and to adopt and encourage what might further their interests.

When the document investing Mühlenberg with this authority came into his hands (Sept. 18, 1773), it caused him serious consideration. Willingly admitting that his body and his soul, with all the service they were able to perform, belonged to God, that he owed a debt of gratitude to his aged fatherly friend Dr. Ziegenhagen at London, and that all help should be given to Dr. Urlsperger, whose father had been such a warm friend to the Ebenezer Lutherans, while he himself took such an interest in their welfare,—he entertained serious doubts whether he would be able to accomplish the task laid upon him. He says all who have any experience in such matters will agree that it is one of the most difficult undertakings to restore peace between disunited parties belonging to the same church, and especially between pastors of the same congregation, because each one has his adherents, who eagerly act without good sense and are "inclined to argue with hands, feet, and tongue," especially in an absolutely free country, which knoweth naught of subordination, and in which an arbitrator is left without power to carry out the most impartial decisions. Mühlenberg also felt that protracted absence might not result beneficially for the Philadelphia congregation. To avoid sea-sickness, which he had reason to fear, he entertained the idea of travelling by land; but in 1773 and 1774 the Indians were engaged in a warfare with the settlers on the frontiers of the Carolinas and of Georgia, which made travelling through those provinces rather unsafe. Mühlenberg was now in his sixty-third year, and had suffered severe attacks of sickness toward the end of 1773 and in the beginning of 1774.

On the other hand, letters coming from London continued to urge upon Mühlenberg the necessity of undertaking the journey to Ebenezer. In Philadelphia his youngest son, G. Henry Ernest, had in June, 1774, been elected third pastor and colleague of his father and J. Chr. Kunze, his brother-in-law; which circumstance gave Mühlenberg more freedom in his movements. To Mrs. Mühlenberg, whose health for a number of years had been very precarious, a change of air appeared to give hope of improvement, and her youngest

daughter, Mary Salome, then in her fifteenth year, could accompany her parents and be of much service to the suffering mother. It was finally resolved to proceed to Ebenezer by sea. Of course, perils of various kinds were connected with so doing. Mühlenberg presents them to his mind, but in his own peculiar way says that since, on his arrival in America, he had said "Good-morning" to the New World at Ebenezer, it would not matter much if at the same locality he should say "Good-night" to it. Through his friend the Rev. Dr. R. Peters a passport and strong recommendations in due form were procured for him from the Hon. John Penn, governor and commander-in-chief of Pennsylvania. Aug. 18, 1774, Mühlenberg entered into an agreement with a sea-captain to take him and his companions to Charleston for the sum of sixteen pounds and six shillings, the travellers themselves finding the provisions.

The period of time preceding the voyage proved a very laborious one to Mühlenberg. In April and May, 1774, he had paid another visit to the New Jersey congregations, where at that time his son G. Henry E. served as his substitute. On his return thence he met at the hospitable house of the family Jameson, thirty-six miles from New Germantown, a venerable old man of eighty-four, who, though so deaf that conversation with him was almost impossible, narrated various incidents of his life in connection with Rev. George Whitefield, through whose preaching in 1740 he was awakened to a spiritual life. Among other things, he said that at a certain time Whitefield had appointed public services at a locality where the narrator lived, but failed to appear at the specified time. Some thousands of people were anxiously waiting, and the minister of the neighborhood, a highly-gifted man of much spirituality, began to speak in a very impressive way on a Bible text, but produced not the least impression upon his many hearers. The moment, however, Whitefield arrived the clergyman made way for him, giving him the text on which he was speaking. Whitefield had spoken hardly a minute when the whole auditory showed intense excitement by wringing of hands, sighs,

sobs, ejaculations, etc. Mühlenberg sensibly asks whether the name of the man or his fame or his prejudices and fancies had not much to do with this "synergism," as he calls it.

When, in 1775, Rev. W. Graaf was called to the Raritan congregations, Mühlenberg's responsibility there came to a legitimate end. Returning to Philadelphia, he found such a voluminous correspondence claiming his attention that he compares himself to the delinquents in a certain locality in Europe, who, imprisoned in a cage, have to pump unceasingly to save their lives, as without this they would be drowned by the rising waters. He adds that the members of his household never cease to find fault with his writing so many letters; but, says he, "they are the very ones who, when I think I am done, beg me to introduce this or that further particular."

Synod met in Philadelphia June 12 to 15, 1773, according to the arrangement made by Rev. J. N. Kurtz, elected president in 1772. Mühlenberg, who enjoyed the honorary title of senior of ministerium, gives the list of pastors present besides himself: J. Nic. Kurtz of York; Schulze of Tulpehoken; Helmuth of Lancaster; W. Kurtz of Earltown (New Holland); Fred. Aug. Mühlenberg of Heidelberg township; Magister Goeranson, Swedish pastor at Wicaco; St—r (Stoever) of the district of Lebanon; Wd—n (Wildbahn) of McAllistertown (Hanover), on the other side of the Susquehanna; Van Buskirk of Macungie; Jung of White Hall; Streit of Easton; Roeller (John George, who had received his education for the pastoral office in Germany) of Goshenhoppen; Schmidt of Germantown; Schw—f—r (Schwerdfeger) of Linntown; Kunze of Philadelphia; H. Mühlenberg, Jr.; and Hartwig extraordin. Voigt of Pikestown, Krug of Frederick, Md., Schaum of Oley and Mosellem were absent, as also was Gerock, who in a letter addressed to the German Lutheran vestry at New York, and now indorsed by a delegate of the same, who accompanied it with explanatory remarks, states that he had accepted an honorable call from the Lutheran church at Baltimore. Among other subjects, Kunze's plan for a theological

seminary, and Mühlenberg's suggestion to found an "economical institute" in behalf of orphans, superannuated pastors, and teachers, their widows and children, claimed the attention of synod. The request of the European friends of Ebenezer that Mühlenberg should visit that distant congregation was also laid before the ministerium and met with approval.

We find that in the summer of 1773 Mühlenberg could not avoid answering charges which the Rev. J. G. Hartwig had lodged against him—not formally, but in an underhanded way—accusing Mühlenberg of having prevented him from receiving calls from various congregations. Hartwig, by writing for himself a call to Frederick, Md., and purposely omitting in it every reference to synod, in 1768 had virtually cut himself loose from regular connection with the united congregations. Afterward, however, he found it advantageous occasionally to profess holding amicable relations with the brethren; thus he appeared as an *extraordinarius* at the synodical meeting at Philadelphia in 1773. But we have enough proof that at divers places he complained that Mühlenberg prevented congregations from giving him calls. It seems that for a considerable time Mühlenberg had held his peace, but finally, having received letters informing him of Hartwig's proceedings, he answered all these charges in a lengthy document, convincingly proving that several times he had recommended Hartwig—of whose Christian principles and moral character in other respects he had no doubt—to a number of congregations, but without success. Instead of taking to heart Mühlenberg's well-intended and most useful advice, Hartwig continued his irregular measures, and was never quietly and steadily active for any length of time in any congregation, but in consequence of lawsuits about a tract of land which he had acquired from the Indians in the province of New York was engaged in business much better suited to a lawyer than to a clergyman, was habitually travelling from one point to another, and had thus in all localities where for a time he had served as a minister of the gospel lost the confidence of the people as a useful pastor. Finding himself

in an undesirable situation, he gave vent to his embittered feelings by accusing and calumniating Mühlenberg, for whom it was certainly a most unpleasant, though not at all a difficult, task to refute the unjust charges of a brother whose undeniable good qualities he always willingly acknowledged, and in whose welfare he had always taken the deepest interest, although, through the stubbornness with which he continued in his unwise course of conduct, he stood in his own light.

The congregation at Reading, Pa., claimed Mühlenberg's particular attention during the summer of 1773. Since the removal of Rev. J. A. Krug to Frederick in the spring of 1771 the position there was very unsatisfactory. A party consisting of men of loose principles and rough manners had embittered the life of Krug, who, as was his duty, used the word of God against their carnal-mindedness. After his departure the brethren of the ministry were unable to supply the vacancy in a suitable manner. The better portion of the membership addressed Mühlenberg on their precarious situation. He advises them not to enter into contention with the members of the other party, but rather for the present to meet on Sundays in a private house and there hold religious services; also, if possible, to buy a lot of ground as a cemetery of their own, on which, perhaps, at a later period, a church might be erected. Things remained, however, pretty much in the same condition also during the brief tenure of Rev. Ph. J. Grotz, who after his arrival from Europe served the congregation during the year 1774 and a short time afterward. A change for the better took place under the services of Rev. H. Moeller (1775–77) and his successors. On account of private affairs Mühlenberg paid a visit there in September, 1773.

There can be no doubt that in August, 1773, Mühlenberg paid a visit also to New York, where afterward his son Frederick Augustus C. was engaged in the service of the German Lutheran congregation. In his diary Mühlenberg says that the journal of that tour was completed and sent to the Rev. J. G. Chr. Helmuth, then pastor of the Lancaster congrega-

tion. Unfortunately, up to this time we have been unable to discover any traces of that journal or to obtain any other information of that tour. Hausihl was then serving the old Dutch Lutheran church. In consequence of Gerock's removal to Baltimore the German congregation was vacant. Mühlenberg, hoping that Chr. Em. Schulze would return to Philadelphia, expected to spend some months at New York to benefit the vacant congregation. Being disappointed in this hope, he had to return to Philadelphia, and sent as a substitute his son Frederick A. C., whom afterward the congregation elected In a confidential communication of Nov. 22, 1773, to the Rev. J. F. Schmidt, then pastor of the Germantown congregation, Mühlenberg says-that if ever Schmidt should leave Germantown, he would, if the congregation there was willing, like to settle there and with the assistance of one of his sons to serve Germantown and Barren Hill, also on given occasions to offer a helping hand to the Philadelphia church; but, says he, "Man proposes, God disposes. I am aged and feel debilitated: no man can reasonably think hard of it that I desire to have one or the other of my sons with me to assist me in pastoral work." Speaking of his advanced years and of his infirmities, he reminds us of a statement of 1769—viz. "that his last molar was gone."

In a letter addressed (Oct. 27, 1773) to the archbishop of Sweden, Mühlenberg speaks in feeling terms of Rev. J. Wicksell, who, after having served as successor of Wrangel in the office of provost, was in 1773 recalled to Sweden, arrived there in 1774, and died in 1800; and of Rev. A. Goeranson, who had arrived in America in 1766, became rector of Wicaco church in 1768, was Wicksell's successor as provost, returned to his native land in 1785, and also died in 1800. The last Swedish missionary sent over from Sweden was Nic. Collin of Upsala, who arrived in this country in 1770, was appointed pastor of Wicaco in 1786, and died here in 1831. It appears that he maintained friendly relations with Mühlenberg; while pastor at Raccoon, N. J., he borrowed books from Mühlenberg's library. Up to the year 1813 he from time to time

preached in the Swedish language in the Wicaco church. Mühlenberg in his letter expresses the desire that in the future, as heretofore, the Swedish and the German Lutheran brethren might unitedly stand shoulder to shoulder in the bonds of faith and love to carry on the work of the Lord. We know that in the course of a few decades of years the Swedish congregations, which received no new strength through immigration from Sweden and no English Lutheran congregations with which to unite, were merged with the Episcopal Church, wherein the fact that the Church of Sweden had the episcopal form of government was made of the greatest weight, though Lutherans think very differently of it.

In the beginning of 1774 the interests of St. Peter's congregation at Barren Hill again claimed Mühlenberg's special attention. The ministers at Philadelphia had considered it their duty to serve that congregation as much as their responsibilities at Philadelphia permitted. The rapid growth and the necessities of the Philadelphia congregation prevented the pastors from giving the Barren Hill Lutherans the care which they needed. St. Peter's congregation very naturally desired to be formally united with the Germantown congregation and regularly served by its pastor. In a letter dated Feb. 10, 1774, Mühlenberg addresses the vestry of St. Michael's at Germantown in behalf of St. Peter's, and gives strong reasons why this request should be granted, and the assurance that by acceding to this plan the Germantown congregation could in no way be involved in any financial responsibility, since the lot and the church at Barren Hill legally belonged to St. Michael's corporation at Philadelphia—a fact which we formerly had occasion to mention. Mühlenberg incidentally says that in those days Rev. M. Schlatter, minister of the Reformed Church, was permitted by the Lutherans to preach in St. Peter's on the Sundays not used by them for services.

In the early spring of 1774, Mühlenberg received a visit from the Rev. J. Fr. Riess, whom we formerly met at New York. He now served congregations on the Upper Hudson and proved quite useful. He handed Mühlenberg, who was

pleased with his visitor, an application for a pastor from the elders and the deacons of the Loonenburg (Athens) congregation. Mühlenberg had thought of undertaking a journey to that distant place, and had hoped by spending some weeks in the midst of the congregation to encourage it until a suitable pastor could be found; but other duties prevented him from carrying out his benevolent intention. In a letter of Apr. 16, 1774, he offers to the vestry his services in procuring a pastor from Europe, since the Loonenburg Lutherans needed one who had command of the Dutch language, and Mühlenberg knew only two pastors—Riess and Graaf—besides himself in the Lutheran clergy of America who could preach in this language, and they serving in other localities. In July of that year Rev. J. Chr. Leps was called to Loonenburg. He had arrived the same year at Philadelphia, for a time served as teacher in Kunze's seminary, and July 20th was ordained and dismissed to his new field of labor. He had some knowledge of the Dutch language, and was expected to master it sufficiently within a short time.

We have already presented some instances which clearly prove that Mühlenberg, while often willing to forbear and to forgive, knew how to uphold his personal dignity: we are moved here to introduce an example unmistakably testifying to his Christian manliness. We stated that Rev. Ph. J. Grotz was elected pastor in Reading in 1774. He had the title of *magister artium*, and was a man with a large amount of self-conceit and of an unusually irritable temper. He at once began to find fault with Mühlenberg, although in a letter he had congratulated him for having so soon poured the oil of peace upon the turbulent waters at Reading. He vexed Mühlenberg with letters in which he criticised his official conduct, and in a haughty manner undertook to correct him. It seems that Mühlenberg did not trouble himself to answer the man's insulting missives, but finally wrote him the following:

"RIGHT REVEREND SIR, MOST LEARNED MAGISTER GROTZ:

Your Reverence is herewith briefly informed that all your letters came duly to hand. In case you have, and can show, a legal commission or authority granted by God or by American or European Christendom, or by any right rev. consistory or ministry, or by private individuals, I shall allow you strictly to investigate my official conduct, to arrive at an impartial judgment, and proceed in a proper manner. Since you, however, up to this time in your letters have produced nothing of this kind, but simply brought up harsh criminations, menaces, and reflections concerning my official conduct, my family and friends, I for one cannot find such procedures becoming the character of a divine, a Christian, a civil citizen, much less a magister of the liberal arts, and least of all one who is a stranger here. This was the reason—and a quite sufficient one for me—why I did not answer your letters and shall not do so, but rather, if more of this kind should arrive, return them sealed and unread. Such infamous sentiments I need not expect from Reading; I can have them abundantly here in the public market. If you, sir and magister, have any just claim against me or my children or my relatives, or any just cause of complaint, any legal forum is open to you, and I shall not be afraid to answer. Only do not dream that you can be both accuser and judge, for in this country the golden A-B-C is still in use, that the accused has a right to be heard before judgment is passed. This much from Your Reverence's (in all reasonable things) obedient servant,

"MUHLENBERG.

"PHILAD., Apr. 20, 1774."

Grotz probably had lent his ear to some slanderous enemies of Mühlenberg. After a short time he was obliged to leave Reading on account of his very improper conduct. Afterward he showed himself useful on the Upper Hudson and in the Mohawk Valley, where he died in 1809 in Stone Arabia.

During the summer of 1774, Mühlenberg carried on a correspondence with the vestry and with individual members of the Lutheran congregation at Charleston, S. C., where a young

minister, Fr. Daser of Würtemberg, had created much dissatisfaction. Mühlenberg gives most useful pastoral advice in his letters, takes occasion to speak of paying, on his way to Ebenezer, a visit to Charleston, and promises his services in behalf of the congregation. What Mühlenberg wrote (June 14, 1774), in connection with the troubles in the Charleston church, to a member of that congregation deserves to be stated: "I do not think that you, honorable sir, seriously entertain the idea of separating from the German congregation. I view our German Evangelical Lutheran Church in this American wilderness as the man (Luke x. 30–37) who fell among thieves and murderers. The priests and Levites of the Established Church passed it without compassion, but publicans and sinners may yet become children of mercy (Luke xv.), and the great Lord, to whom all belong, will go even after the one hundredth sheep which is lost. We must never allow our courage to fail, but be merciful, as our Father in heaven is merciful toward us poor worms, and for the sake of Christ's merits is not so soon tired of us. During the thirty-two years of my sojourning in America time and again calls and occasions were given me to join the Episcopal Church and to receive four or five times more salary than my poor German fellow-members of the Lutheran faith gave me; but I preferred reproach in and with my people to the treasures of Egypt. [Comp. Heb. xi. 24–26.] I remember that many years ago a proud German tailor left our Church and joined the Episcopalians, giving as a reason that among the Germans he had few customers—many among the English. On the other hand, a captain of high standing who had studied the German joined our Church, telling me that he sat with more pleasure on the rough benches with the poor God-fearing German Lutherans than on those high seats where all glittered with gold, silver, and the like. What you, honorable sir, can in Christian charity contribute to the peace and reconciliation of congregation and pastor you will certainly offer with a good will in behalf of our faith." We shall hereafter meet Mühlenberg in Charleston.

Aug. 15, 1774, with Rev. Voigt and Catechist H. Moeller, who then was colaborer of Kunze in the seminary at Philadelphia, he was present at the corner-stone laying of the church to be erected at Pikestown, where he preached in English and laid the first stone. He says that the heat of the sun was oppressive, and that the trees on the lot where the church was to be built were full of children and young people, who had climbed up into them as Zacchæus had done—not with the same motives, but to see something new and unusual. He adds that he had also to urge the people to give large contributions—a thing which to the elders and deacons *in penuria* appears to be the most animating and important, provided it is done very impressively and is accompanied by the orator's ample contribution as a proof that his practice follows his theory. He also bade farewell to many friends who knew of his intended voyage to Ebenezer, and, returning through Providence, Aug. 16th, preached in the Augustus Church, on which occasion Pastor Voigt presided at the organ and a farewell dinner was given to Mühlenberg, in which a number of church-officers and other friends participated.

Sunday, Aug. 21st, Mühlenberg once more preached in Zion, and took leave of the congregation. At a meeting of the vestry on the following day it was resolved that during his absence Kunze should in all needful cases act as deputy rector. Mühlenberg, having in 1773 again been elected president of synod, sent to Rev. J. Nic. Kurtz all the material necessary for the meeting of synod to be held at Lancaster in the fall of the year, and requested him to take his place at this synodical meeting; he also transferred to him, for the time being, the care of the Raritan congregations, took leave of Schulze, Helmuth, and other friends by letters, and also wrote his last will.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1773–1775 (*continued*).

Voyage to Charleston, Savannah, and Ebenezer.—Mühlenberg at Charleston.—His interest in the Lutherans there and in other localities in South Carolina.—Rev. Messrs. Daser, Martin, Hochheimer, Hahnbaum, Chr. Streit.—Mühlenberg's idea of a practical theological seminary.—Arrival at Savannah.—Rev. Joach. Zübly, D. D.—Rabenhorst and Triebner visit Mühlenberg and acknowledge his authority.—He arrives at Ebenezer.—The two parties in the congregation.—Mutual charges.—Divided services.—Attempts at reconciliation.—Rabenhorst's accounts found correct.—Preparation of a new constitution for the congregation.—Its adoption.—Rabenhorst's Christian character vindicated.—Mühlenberg's return to Philadelphia.

SATURDAY, Aug. 27th, Mühlenberg, with his wife and daughter, embarked for Charleston. Some friends had sent additional provisions on board; many others, of both sexes, were assembled on shore to say farewell. A number of others—among them, Kunze, Peter and Henry Mühlenberg, and Frederick Keppele—in their boats accompanied the ship five or six miles down the Delaware.

Of hardly any other part of his eventful life has Mühlenberg left us a more minute record than of this voyage to Ebenezer. A German manuscript was translated into English by his grandson, the late Rev. J. W. Richards, D. D.* Before us lies a manuscript in Mühlenberg's own hand, differing in many minor points from the translation given by Dr. Richards. We shall restrict ourselves to a summary of the most important events of the voyage and of the labors of Mühlenberg more directly connected with the mission entrusted to him. In the *Halle Reports* very little is said about

* The translation is embodied in a number of continuations in the Gettysburg *Evangelical Review* from 1850 to 1852.

Mühlenberg's voyage to Ebenezer. The subject is only incidentally introduced there in the fifteenth continuation in a letter of Kunze. Nothing is said of the causes which made necessary that visit to Ebenezer. It appeared advisable not to speak of the unfortunate disturbances in that congregation, but rather to avoid the unpleasant impressions they might make in Germany upon the friends of the missions in America.

That Mühlenberg was the same man in travelling and at home, that he upheld the same principles on shipboard which he preached in the church and practised on land, we learned in accompanying him from Europe to America; now, also, after the lapse of so many years, we find him true to himself. On Saturday he left with a mixed company of which he gives a detailed description, and humorously includes himself as "an old-fashioned, unattractive German parson." The following Sunday evening, when the vessel was at anchor before New Castle, he sought to direct the mind of his ten fellow-cabin-passengers to the irrationality and sinfulness of "the national vice of the English"—the use of profane language. It was unanimously resolved that this bad habit should not, and would not, be tolerated in that company. He also found occasion, as he had when crossing the ocean in 1742, to testify against the practice of duelling, which in those times was much more common in America than now, and which some of the passengers considered under some circumstances unavoidable for a man of honor. On Monday, Aug. 29th, a ship coming from Jamaica took letters of Mühlenberg to his children in Philadelphia. During the night of that day the high sea was reached, and, contrary winds tossing the vessel, Mühlenberg, his daughter, and other passengers suffered greatly from sea-sickness up to Sept. 5th, while Mrs. Mühlenberg remained unaffected by it. On Sunday, Sept. 4th, by request of all the people on board, Mühlenberg held services in the English language, concluding with singing a verse of a German hymn. He was much pleased with the attention paid by his hearers. The sailors of the ship tried to show their

gratitude and their esteem in a popular way. They hit upon the idea that Mühlenberg's sea-sickness was the result of the cook's mistakes in his art, and, having a sailor's ration prepared, sent it to the sufferer by a delegate, who presented it with laconic eloquence. Mühlenberg partook of it because "it was sweetened with good-will, salted with serious thought, and seasoned with faith."

Landing at Charleston on Thursday, Sept. 8th, at ten A. M., Mühlenberg with a thankful heart contemplated the wonderful ways of God, who after thirty-two eventful years again had brought him thither. Soon some members of the vestry of the German Lutheran congregation conducted him, his wife, and his daughter to the hospitable house of Mr. Timrod, a highly-respected member of the church. All possible kindness was offered to the strangers. They felt the change of climate; the heat was oppressive, and to Mühlenberg the people "looked pale and yellowish, as though they had come out of graves or lazarettos." After some time he and his were taken to the house of Mr. Joseph Kimbel, a man in good circumstances and well known for his great hospitality toward ministers of the gospel. In his large house the Mühlenbergs were treated with the utmost kindness. Sept. 9th and 10th, Mühlenberg received many visits from English and German people, wrote letters to his son Frederick (then at New York), and prepared himself for Sunday services, as he was expected to preach. Among his hearers were two pastors—one, Fred. Daser, whom, on account of his offensive conduct, the vestry had deposed from the office; the other, J. N. Martin. The latter preached in the afternoon on the text, "My house shall be called a house of prayer" (Matt. xxi. 13). Mühlenberg says of him that he was an autodidact from the country whom the vestry had ordered to preach for a few Sundays: "he showed how we ought to go to the house of God, how behave in it and outside of it. In the first part he proposed six steps to lead us into it; the second part was intended for the other subject. All was ingeniously illustrated with sentences and quotations. But, as from the shortness of the time and the

great heat he did not show us any other outlet, we were obliged to return again by those six steps, and finished where we had begun." In this criticism there is an irony which cannot escape our readers.

Mühlenberg felt unwell on the following Monday, and learned that the month of September was the most dangerous month in the Carolinas and in Georgia, and that much sickness usually prevailed. He, however, paid a visit to Mr. Kalteisen, an experienced elder of the church, who was fond of reading, acquainted with Gellert's writings, well established in the knowledge of Christ, and on account of his judiciousness entrusted with a number of offices. Mühlenberg says that among the church-officers and members here there were found men of firm convictions, much good sense, and love for the Lutheran Church, desirous to work for the increase of the Evangelical confession, and willing to give time, labor, and money, but that there was needed a leader powerful in proclaiming gospel truth and exemplary in his conduct. During the week he suffered a severe attack of fever, but with much effort managed to preach on Sunday morning, Sept. 18th, on 1 Cor. xv. 26. In the afternoon he listened to another preacher, from a country congregation, Rev. E. Hochheimer, who recited a sermon of one of the eminent German divines. On the following Monday, Mühlenberg was deeply affected by the report of the death of Rev. Dr. Ziegenhagen, brought from London by a member of the vestry. The report was erroneous. On Wednesday, Sept. 21st, Mühlenberg was taken in a carriage to the country-seat of one of the elders of the church, who had lived there for thirty-five years and remembered Mühlenberg's first arrival and visit at Charleston.

With his wife and daughter, Mühlenberg remained here from Sept. 8th until Oct. 26th. During this period he served the Lutheran congregation in spiritual matters and exercised a wholesome influence for its administration; he also gathered considerable information as to the condition of the Lutheran Church and congregations in the province of South Carolina.*

* On this subject solid and ample instruction is given in the *History of the Ger-*

At the time of Mühlenberg's visit the Charleston congregation was in a critical situation. Rev. J. T. Hahnbaum, a worthy man, who had been called from Germany and served the congregation from 1761 until his death in 1772, was succeeded by Fred. Daser, already mentioned, who, a young and inexperienced man, had come to this country not as a theologian, but as a *magister artium*, was accepted as an assistant by Rev. Hahnbaum—who was in a sickly and debilitated condition—received from him the necessary instruction and various aids for preaching, manuscripts, books, etc., married one of his daughters, and after the father's death was appointed by the vestry as his successor for one year, and after the lapse of that time for three more years. Unfortunately, the conduct of Daser—who with his wife visited balls and other similar entertainments and participated in nightly brawls and other excesses—was not of such a character as to recommend him to the better class of the membership. The vestry, therefore, would no longer engage his services, and, having made fruitless attempts to obtain a pastor from the ecclesiastical authorities of Hanover, petitioned Mühlenberg to send them a suitable man. Daser's adherents, of whom he had a considerable number among a certain class, could not raise a salary to sustain him and his family; the other members, who had a more spiritual view of the pastoral office, were not willing to do it. Under these circumstances Daser resolved, with recommendations of the lieutenant-governor and some Episcopal ministers, to go to England, in the hope of receiving holy orders there. Learning that Mühlenberg's arrival was expected, he had delayed his departure to await Mühlenberg's decision for or against him. He listened to Mühlenberg's sermons and also personally visited him. The vestry had positively decided that under no circumstances would they again engage Daser's services or pay the debts

man Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina, etc. etc., by G. D. Bernheim, D. D. (formerly pastor of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Wilmington, S. C.; now pastor of Evangelical Lutheran Grace Church, Phillipsburg, N. J.). Philadelphia: Lutheran Bookstore, 117 N. Sixth st. 1872.

he had contracted. Mühlenberg, who was present at the meetings of the congregation and the vestry, and who at once felt the want of a proper constitution for the congregation, could not and would not defend a man who during four years had demonstrated that he had no proper conception of the dignity and the duties of the clerical office. Daser, seeing that his opportunities were gone, at the advice of Mühlenberg wrote a short petition in behalf of himself, his wife, and his two little children: some of the vestry, who personally cherished no ill-will against him, canvassed the congregation in his behalf, and in this way collected between seventy and eighty pounds Carolina currency, of which sum ten pounds came from Mühlenberg, the very least portion from Daser's adherents. Daser departed for England, but in consequence of terrible storms the vessel was necessitated to return to Charleston. It appears that the school of sad experiences was not without some wholesome effects upon Daser's spiritual condition.

In behalf of the congregation Mühlenberg drew up a petition for a suitable pastor to the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London;" this petition was signed by nearly all the members of the congregation, and sent by Rev. Pasche of London also to the "Fathers" in Halle, having been forwarded to Europe by Mr. Mey of Charleston. Meanwhile the vestry re-engaged the services of Rev. J. N. Martin, who consented to take charge of the congregation until the arrival of the pastor expected from Europe. In consequence of the outbreak of the political troubles between England and the American colonies this pastor never arrived. Rev. Martin proved a strenuous advocate of American rights, wherein he was supported by his membership, out of which the German fusilier company of Charleston was formed. He was for a time imprisoned by the English, since he refused to pray for King George III., and then driven from the city. During this time two ministers—Rev. Christian Streit, whose memory is cherished by the Lutheran Church in America, and Fred. Daser—partially supplied the congregation. When

Streit, who entered upon his pastoral duties in 1778, was made a prisoner of war by the British, Daser appears to have been sole pastor of the Lutherans at Charleston until July, 1786, when he took a pastoral charge in Orangeburg District, S. C.

During his visit to Charleston, Mühlenberg took a lively interest in all that appertained to the Lutheran congregation; he also participated in a consultation of the vestry concerning the establishment of a parochial German and English school. There is no doubt that his sojourn at Charleston resulted in much good to the congregation. He and his companions received many marks of esteem and good-will from the brethren and from others. Rev. W. Tennent, a member of a family of preachers with which he already had become acquainted in Pennsylvania, pastor of the large congregation of the Independents, invited him to preach. The German Benevolent Society of Charleston (established Jan. 15, 1766, and still active), at that time counting about eighty members, and called by Mühlenberg the flower of the German nation in those parts, invited him to be present at one of their meetings and to participate in a dinner given in his honor. He also became acquainted with an English gentleman who, coming from Savannah, gave him valuable information concerning the state of affairs at Ebenezer, telling him that the congregation was divided into two parties, one adhering to Rev. Rabenhorst, an excellent man and an exemplary pastor, under the leadership of Mr. Treutlen, a justice of the peace and a merchant in easy circumstances; the other the friends of Rev. Triebner, under the leadership of Mr. Wertsch, a merchant of means at Ebenezer. Mühlenberg found at Charleston other persons of English and German descent who spoke in high terms of Rabenhorst's Christian character and conduct.

During his visit to Charleston, Mühlenberg had opportunity, through letters and personal intercourse, to learn much about the spiritually destitute condition of many German Lutheran settlers in the interior of the province of South Carolina.

A family living about fifty miles from Charleston visited his host, and from them he learned that in their district church and school were in a bad way; that they had provided their own barn as a place of worship for the people of the neighborhood; that their pastor was a man who had come from Germany some time previous, and that, though he had some ability as a teacher, he had none as a preacher; that the whole week he was busy in gathering his Sunday sermon from various books and laboriously writing it. This composition, and even the Lord's Prayer, he read on Sunday without any gesture or pathos, excusing himself by saying that God had totally refused him the gift of memory. Mühlenberg adds that God is always unjustly blamed whenever lazy fellows remain uncircumcised in heart and in ears. He also learned that in that region very few were able to read or to write, which moved him to exclaim, "Oh what an advantage and consolation an institute would be where catechists could be prepared and made willing, during week-days, to keep school, and on Sundays and church-festivals to deliver suitable sermons! There would be no need to trouble these young men for years with studying foreign languages; it would be quite sufficient if they were gifted with an average amount of good common sense, had a compendious knowledge of the essentials of theology, in addition to personal experience of saving truth—if they could make a decent use of the pen, had command of their mother-tongue and the English; were also to some extent masters of the rudiments of Latin; of robust bodily frame, able to endure all sorts of victuals and weather; and, above all, if they were endowed with hearts sincerely loving the Saviour, his lambs and sheep." But he finally adds, "This matter is among the *pia desideria*, easier conceived in theory than executed in practice."

Among the letters Mühlenberg received while sojourning at Charleston was one from the Rev. J. G. Friederichs, who formerly served congregations in Pennsylvania, between 1755 and 1759 had presided over the Charleston congregation, and after laying, in 1759, the corner-stone of a frame church,

had moved to the Lutherans in Amelia township, about one hundred miles distant from Charleston. His letter was answered in words of sympathy and encouragement. Letters also arrived from relatives in Pennsylvania and cheered the hearts of father, mother, and daughter. Here Mühlenberg also received the distressing news that Israel Heintzelmann, the only surviving son of the late Rev. J. D. M. Heintzelmann of Philadelphia, had died (Sept. 12) at Ebenezer in consequence of being thrown by a spirited horse; to which sad event we formerly alluded.

At last, on Wednesday, Oct. 26th, after many futile attempts to depart, Mühlenberg, with wife and daughter, accompanied to the wharf by the family of his kind host and by a number of other friends, went on board of the old and very incommodious vessel which was to take them to Savannah. They experienced much hardship, but reached Savannah at two o'clock on the following afternoon.

Here the Rev. Joachim Zübly, D. D., pastor of the Reformed church, whose benevolence toward Rev. Handschuh at Germantown has previously been mentioned, and who at that time had lived at Charleston, had paid a visit to Philadelphia in 1752 and become personally acquainted with Mühlenberg, most cordially invited the strangers to his house. Although appreciating Dr. Zübly's kindness, important considerations moved Mühlenberg to accept the hospitality of Mr. Stephan Millen, German merchant and a member of the Lutheran congregation there and of the Assembly, who in 1773 had brought his oldest son to Philadelphia to the Rev. Kunze for instruction and confirmation, and whose acquaintance Mühlenberg had made on that occasion. When, by invitation, Mühlenberg, with his wife and daughter, dined at Zübly's, he found there the largest collection of books he had ever seen in any pastor's study in America; but, as in many such libraries, "the books are like the trees that lose their fruit and foliage in autumn, for printed leaves without number, whole and half tracts, manuscripts, etc. lie scattered on the floor." On Jan. 9, 1775, Zübly, then at Ebenezer, laid

before Mühlenberg the manuscript of a dissertation in Latin which he intended to have printed, having been created doctor of divinity. He was a learned and well-meaning man, but of a sanguine temper. When sent to the American Congress as the representative from Georgia, he unfortunately proved a decided Tory, secretly corresponded with the Tory governor of Georgia, was publicly denounced as a traitor, and in consequence suffered confiscation of property and other severe hardships. In his diary Mühlenberg states that in a letter from Savannah at the close of 1783 he was mentioned as having died. His death had taken place in July, 1781. (*Vide* Lor. Sabine's *Loyalists* (1847), p. 732 f.)

Friday evening, the day after his arrival at Savannah, Mühlenberg by two letters of similar import informed the pastors Rabenhorst and Triebner at Ebenezer of his presence in compliance with the request of Rev. Drs. Ziegenhagen and Urlsperger and of members of the *Societas de Propaganda Cognitione Christi*, of his readiness to do his share for the restoration of harmony between pastors and congregation at Ebenezer, of the motives which had influenced him in this matter to undertake such a lengthy journey at his advanced age, of the authority given him in this affair, and of his obligation to report the results to those who had empowered and sent him. He desired to have a preliminary private interview with both the pastors. Of these letters Mühlenberg retained a copy. He knew that in this unfortunate complication he was obliged to use the greatest circumspection, and he acted throughout in accordance with this conviction.

On Saturday, Oct. 29th, a man of seventy years, a Lutheran, who thirty years before had rowed Mühlenberg and Rev. J. Chr. Gronau up to Ebenezer, came to see him. He remembered the hymns which the two clerical gentlemen had sung while going up the Savannah. At Savannah, on Sunday, Mühlenberg preached twice in the Lutheran church, a frame structure (formerly used as the court-house) which the Lutherans had bought and moved to another locality. They had now owned it about two years, and had adorned it with

a small belfry with a bell. He was pleased with the attention and behavior of his hearers, who every sixth Sunday enjoyed the services of Rev. Rabenhorst.

Monday, Oct. 31st, at four P. M., Mühlenberg was visited by both the pastors of Ebenezer; he had never before seen them. After some general conversation he laid before them the document authorizing him to investigate the difficulties existing between them and the Ebenezer membership, with the instructions he had received from Rev. Dr. Urlsperger at Augsburg. He inquired whether they acknowledged both documents and were willing to proceed accordingly. Rabenhorst at once gave his consent; Triebner also gave his after some hesitation. Finally, both reduced their consent to writing. Mühlenberg requested them to confine their complaints to a few main points, and to hand them to him in writing; in case important charges bearing upon their office and their character or upon the congregation were to be laid before him, to have ready credible witnesses who could be put under oath. This also both promised to do. When Rabenhorst left, Triebner continued for an hour to represent the difficulties at Ebenezer as he viewed them, but elicited no response from Mühlenberg, who, however, was unpleasantly surprised to learn that by a grant from the governor and the council of the province the Jerusalem Church at Ebenezer, with the ground on which this main church of the congregation was erected, and with the glebe and the graveyard, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Church of England. If this was so, Ebenezer and all its appurtenances might finally go into the hands of strangers, and all the charities in its behalf and all the labors devoted to it would prove abortive.

Before going to Ebenezer, Mühlenberg also addressed himself to both the "political heads" of the two existing parties —Mr. Treutlen, who lived about ten miles west of Ebenezer, and Mr. Wertsch. He considered them as representative men, and requested each to present his principal charges in writing, begging them both to facilitate the work of peace to the best

of their ability. He also stated that during his stay in Ebenezer he would like to have lodgings in a house free from the suspicion of party influence. On the following day Rabenhorst, with Mrs. Mühlenberg and her daughter, left for Ebenezer. Triebner remained and took occasion to read to Mühlenberg many communications exchanged between him and Rabenhorst. He also stated that the larger party, the friends of Rabenhorst, through the officers of the congregation, had locked the Jerusalem Church against him; that he now, with his adherents, held services in Mr. J. C. Wertsch's house; and that he had in vain petitioned the governor for redress. Mühlenberg felt that in this condition of affairs there was apparent danger that the governor might step in, take the property of the congregation under his protection in behalf of the Church of England, and place there a pastor who had had Episcopal ordination. The grant concerning the Jerusalem Church and other property Mühlenberg was unable to discover in Savannah, but he received a copy of a grant of five hundred acres belonging to the mills erected at Ebenezer. This instrument was dated Aug. 7, 1759, and the property was given to Rabenhorst, John Flerl, Lewis Meyer, and their heirs and assigns, as their possession for ever, with the addition "in trust, nevertheless;" which term, as Mühlenberg says, was entirely too indefinite, since those gentlemen never gave a declaration of trust binding themselves to apply the income to congregational purposes. Rabenhorst was not of a robust constitution: he died a few years after Mühlenberg's visit, leaving a widow, but no children. Flerl was dead, and his legal rights had devolved upon his son. Meyer also was dead, and his four children were minors. The more heirs the more claims upon the land and the income. No wonder, says Mühlenberg, that the mills occasioned much strife; the fault had been committed in the beginning. The original grant concerning Jerusalem Church was in the hands of Mr. Wertsch, and was sent to Mühlenberg by Triebner Nov. 5th. It states plainly, under date April 2, 1771, "that the said two lots of land first above mentioned shall be to and for the only proper use, benefit, and behoof

of two ministers of the gospel, residents within the parish aforesaid (St. Matthew's), using and exercising divine service according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England within the said parish, and their successors for ever," etc. Here was the mistake. The document, Mühlenberg said, ought to have read "for the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of the ministers and congregation, being Protestants according to the Augsburg Confession and Liturgy, and their successors for ever." Who had introduced that unfortunate phraseology? Mühlenberg does not answer the question, but alludes to the fact that there was a certain lawyer at Savannah—Joseph Ottolenghe, at one time, according to report, a Portuguese Jew, now a member of the Anglican Church, a justice of the peace, and "a great friend of the Germans, provided they would act as he wished them"—whom Triebner had visited soon after having acknowledged Mühlenberg's authority; which act Mühlenberg suspects he regretted.

When Mühlenberg, on the afternoon of Monday, Nov. 7th, arrived at Rabenhorst's, twenty miles from Savannah, he found, quite contrary to the impressions made upon him by descriptions, a small frame house on four posts, on the first floor a room of moderate dimensions and an alcove, which was given to the guest, Rabenhorst and his wife moving to the attic.

The week now before him Mühlenberg calls a week of *martyrium*. He saw before him a most unpleasant task. He had hardly arrived when Triebner and his adherents sent him a document containing fifteen accusations against Rabenhorst, most of them of an irrelevant character—others charging him with arbitrary conduct in church affairs, remissness in the exercise of discipline, neglecting to give account of the trusts in his hands, and unwillingness to come to an amicable understanding with Triebner and his friends. On the other hand, Rabenhorst complained that from the time of his arrival Triebner had made it impossible to hold fraternal relations with him, and had continually found fault with him and with the customs of the congregation, the manner in which the

parochial school was kept and the children were treated; had proposed changes in the matter of the salary of the pastors, which Rabenhorst did not think beneficial; had acted in a very offensive manner, and misrepresented before the people and in letters to Europe the doings of his colleague in reference to financial transactions; had calumniated him before the congregation and Mr. Whitefield; and had seriously affected his good reputation among the membership by representing him as a false teacher and a disturber of the churches.

The church-officers handed Mühlenberg a separate document, wherein they charged Triebner with most unbecoming behavior toward Rabenhorst, who at all times had treated him kindly; with avarice and covetousness in claiming the right of administering the trusts in Rabenhorst's hands, for which he had no official authority; with an impetuous and irascible temper; with unbridled ambition, leading him to think himself superior to all others and always to claim the first honors; and with an envious and implacable disposition.

Wednesday, Nov. 9th, Triebner took Mühlenberg to his house in Ebenezer, where he met with the widow of Rev. Lembke, whom thirty-two years before he had known as the wife of Rev. Gronau. Herm. H. Lembke was sent in 1746 as the successor of Gronau, who had died July 11, 1745. Lembke died about five years before Mühlenberg's second visit to Ebenezer. The church records of the town having been almost wholly destroyed or lost during the Revolutionary War, we are unable to find the exact dates of a number of events bearing upon the history of the congregation and its pastors. Mühlenberg did not observe much improvement in the town since his first visit, but the whole settlement had increased greatly, so that now there were four churches—Jerusalem, a stone structure, erected in 1767 in the place of the former frame building; Zion Church, four miles from Ebenezer, nearer to the Savannah River, and still standing; Goshen, ten miles below Ebenezer, on the Savannah road, and served then by Rabenhorst; and Bethany, in the settlement north of

Ebenezer, but abandoned during the Revolutionary War, which proved very disastrous to the whole colony.

In the evening of that same day the lay leaders of the two parties, Wertsch and Treutlen, came to see Mühlenberg. Triebner, who was present, took occasion to upbraid Treutlen, who, however, maintained a dignified coolness under these attacks. On the following day it grieved Mühlenberg to see that the one party held services in Mr. Wertsch's private dwelling, while Rabenhorst and his friends were assembled in the Jerusalem Church. On Friday, Nov. 11th, Mühlenberg held a special meeting with the two pastors; after opening with prayer, he requested Rabenhorst to state his charges, to which Triebner responded in an arrogant manner, denying every charge and claiming in every respect to have acted as before God in agreement with the instructions given him by the "Fathers" and according to his best knowledge. Mühlenberg finally (the meeting lasted six hours) tried to persuade them to forgive each other, as was the duty of brethren. Triebner admitted, on his part, no more than that he may occasionally have erred in manner, never in matter, and that he had only carried out his instructions. Mühlenberg states that he had reasons for not believing in those instructions. Triebner only went so far as to say that he was willing to forgive the affronts offered him by Rabenhorst, who, seeing Mühlenberg's embarrassment and grief, broke out in tears, freely offered his hand to Triebner, and afterward accompanied him to his house. On the following Sunday, Rabenhorst and his wife went with Mühlenberg to the house of Triebner; the three pastors proceeded to the Jerusalem Church, and were followed by a crowd composed of both parties. Mühlenberg preached on Luke vi. 36, 37 ("Be ye merciful," etc.), and he and Rabenhorst took dinner at Triebner's house. In the afternoon, however, Rabenhorst had catechization with his adherents in the Jerusalem Church; Triebner, services with his flock at Wertsch's.

It was expected of Mühlenberg that he would examine all the papers referring to the administration of the trusts in the

hands of Rabenhorst, and find out whether the charges made by Triebner and his adherents had any solid foundation. The question was whether Rabenhorst (who, with a colony of Würtembergers, had arrived at Ebenezer in 1752) was lawfully managing the grist-, saw- and rice-stamping-mills and the lands appertaining thereto, and whether he had employed the income thereof in the interest of the congregation, its churches, schools, parsonages, teachers, widows, orphans, etc. The trust had first been in the hands of Boltzius. He had (April 15, 1757) formally transferred it to Lembke, who again (April 30, 1759) transferred it to Rabenhorst; which transfers were made in good legal form. Funds borrowed for the mill had been repaid. Rabenhorst never intended to divert the income arising from the mills from its original objects or to use it for his personal interest. He derived his support from a capital of £649 16s. 5d. raised in Germany and invested in farm-lands at Ebenezer, and for which he gave a bond certifying that this fund could be used for no other purpose than for the support of his successors. We may add that during the Revolutionary War the mills fell into decay, and that the lands—once amounting to nine hundred and twenty-five acres—became wholly depreciated in value. When Triebner arrived here he soon spread the report that Rabenhorst had improperly got the lands into his possession, and had no authority to manage the mills; that the principal in his hands was not secure; and that Triebner, Wertsch, and others offered seven per cent. on the capital, provided it were given into their hands. No wonder that such reports produced considerable suspicion and animosity among the membership of the congregation. Mühlenberg conscientiously undertook the task of sifting the accusations, examining all the legal documents, and hearing all competent witnesses. He arrived at the conclusion that Rabenhorst could not justly be charged with any selfish motive or act in administration of the trust; that his innocence could easily be demonstrated to all who were not prevented from seeing and appreciating the truth by prejudice or partiality; that

there would be no difficulty in restoring peace and harmony, provided Triebner could be moved to acknowledge the wrong he had done his fellow-laborer and to endeavor to restore the confidence he had sought to destroy. Mühlenberg discovered that it was Mr. Wertsch "who, after the death of Boltzius and Lembke, always pretended to be the *factotum*," and who had allowed the grant to be prepared in such a manner as to place Jerusalem Church under the jurisdiction of the Anglican episcopacy. He had also kept that document in his hands, and had never allowed any one but Triebner and others of his party to peruse it. Mühlenberg properly remarks: "If this great mistake had been committed by Rabenhorst, Treutlen, or any other one of their friends, what an outcry of indignation would have come from Triebner, Wertsch, and their adherents, and been proclaimed to the Right Reverend Fathers!"

Nov. 22d, Mühlenberg held the first conference with the two pastors and six trustees of Ebenezer. By presenting and reading the respective documents it was here clearly demonstrated that Rabenhorst had not in any undue manner assumed authority, but in his administration of the properties entrusted to him had acted in a perfectly unselfish and legitimate way, keeping in view the best interests of the congregation; that, on the other hand, Triebner and his adherents had done great wrong by circulating evil reports and again and again charging Rabenhorst with illegitimate assumption of authority, by irritating the people against him, and by prohibiting him from receiving moneys from those indebted. But on this occasion Mühlenberg refrained from pronouncing upon Triebner that judgment which he deserved. Privately he gave him serious admonition, without, however, being able to bring him to the acknowledgment of his wrong-doing. Rabenhorst was able also to lay before the conference all his accounts concerning the mills, and to show a balance of £229 16s. 2d.

On the following day Mühlenberg held another conference with the two pastors, the officers, and a number of the members of the congregation. Triebner and his party here mani-

fested so unconciliatory and turbulent a spirit that Mühlenberg declared it futile for him longer to stay and labor. This had the effect of, to some extent, changing the attitude taken by Wertsch and other adherents of Triebner—not, however, of moving Triebner to anything else than to admonish his opponents to repentance, while Rabenhorst gave the strongest evidence that he was willing to forgive and forget. Mühlenberg was now fully convinced that this man Triebner was inaccessible to every principle of truth and charity and could not be moved to enter upon the path of humility and peace. It was, however, agreed that both parties should unitedly hold services in the Jerusalem Church. We take occasion here to state that Mühlenberg frequently speaks of Mrs. Triebner in the highest terms. He speaks in the same manner of Mrs. Rabenhorst, who was a daughter of Mr. Brands, a member of the congregation lately deceased.

During the month of December, Mühlenberg was busy in preparing for the Ebenezer congregation an improved constitution which might in future serve to prevent many of these troublesome complications. Triebner handed him a plan of such a constitution of his own making. It was a very voluminous document, and for this reason was impractical. Mühlenberg also found in the Ebenezer or Saltzburger *Reports*, edited by the late Dr. Urlsperger, Jr., many suggestions concerning the administration and the discipline of the congregation which essentially coincided with his own views and proposals on this subject. He also prepared an extensive report, which he intended to send to Dr. Ziegenhagen and to Dr. Urlsperger, Jr., who had sent Triebner to Ebenezer, and who appeared to entertain of him a much higher opinion than he deserved. Triebner was indeed expected to send reports on the state of affairs in Ebenezer to Germany, of which opportunity he made a very extended but most unjust use by calumniating Rabenhorst and by the suppression and misrepresentation of many facts. In connection with this, Mühlenberg says that Dr. Ziegenhagen never permitted missionaries, in the earlier years of their labor in foreign countries, to send

reports of their internal or external condition, being persuaded that it needed time and experience to reach a reliable conclusion. He adds that during the first years of a residence in a foreign country, under wholly new circumstances, a man is blind and judges affairs and conditions by the standard of his own native country: at first, seeing but the surface of things, he makes hasty conclusions and gives definitions and descriptions which after some time, from a larger experience, he is obliged to change.

We hardly need remark that during his stay at Ebenezer Mühlenberg frequently conducted public services in the various churches of the congregation. He and Mrs. Mühlenberg suffered during that winter, from the very changeable climate, attacks of fever and other diseases. Jan. 10, 1775, Mühlenberg received a letter from his son Frederick of New York informing him that the Lutheran pastors in the province intended to hold their first conference the next April. This indicates the primal move in the direction of establishing a New York synod; the undertaking was accomplished in 1786.

Mühlenberg was much gratified in seeing that Rabenhorst most willingly gave a legal bond by which all the church property under his sole care and control, but not secured against legal difficulties in case of his death, should in this event revert as a trust to Urlsperger of Augsburg, G. A. Freylinghausen of Halle, and Ziegenhagen of London as the founders of the principal involved in Ebenezer, the interest of which formed the pastor's salary. Mühlenberg took care to state in this bond that the pastor who should subsequently enjoy the benefit of the interest of the principal (amounting to £649 16s. 5d.) was to be "a regular Protestant minister, professing the Protestant Lutheran doctrine according to the Augsburg Confession and Liturgy, in and about Ebenezer in Georgia." In the same manner, at the instigation of Mühlenberg, J. C. Wertsch—who held a sum of three hundred pounds, collected in part by Urlsperger, in part by Ziegenhagen, in behalf of the Ebenezer congregation—gave his legal

bond to both these originators of this trust in such a manner that the capital should for ever be secured to the benefit of the Lutheran congregation at Ebenezer. Both these bonds were recorded in the office of the provincial secretary at Savannah. Before leaving Georgia, Mühlenberg made all possible efforts to have the wording of the above-mentioned grant changed which placed the Ebenezer congregation and the Jerusalem Church under the jurisdiction of the Anglican Church, but could not consummate his purpose.

On Thursday, Jan. 12, 1775, a meeting of the vestry was held, at which were present the trustees and the church-officers (Vorsteher) with the two pastors. In addition to other transactions, it was resolved to hold a meeting of the congregation on Monday, Jan. 16th, to read the proposed constitution and to request the assent and the subscription of the members. Invitation being given by Mühlenberg after preaching in Jerusalem Church on Sunday, the meeting took place at ten o'clock A. M. the following day. After prayer and some preliminary business, Mühlenberg read the proposed constitution as it had already been subscribed (Dec. 28, 1774) by the two pastors, the trustees, the officers, and a few church-members. The reading of the document—which in many points is similar to the constitution adopted in Philadelphia, and in which Mühlenberg wisely had embodied what could be usefully applied from Triebner's proposed sketch—required a full hour. No voice of opposition was heard, and in the presence of Mühlenberg about one hundred and twenty-five members, inclusive of those who formerly had given their names, signed the document. It grieves us to report that Triebner, who had seemed to be in full harmony with the new constitution, after a few days fell into a paroxysm of regret, thought that that document could not be carried out in the administration of the congregation, and placed his own views above its principles and its stipulations. Perhaps it was a fortunate circumstance that a short time after Mühlenberg departed from Ebenezer the congregation, meeting at Jerusalem Church, deposed Triebner from the pastoral office. He was under a dreadful suspicion

of immorality, and was not in the condition to prove his innocence. He kept a small number of personal adherents under his control and for a time continued to hold services with them in a private house. When, about the year 1777, Rabenhorst died, Triebner regained some of his former influence, and made efforts to disconnect Ebenezer from the authority and supervision of the "Fathers" in Europe. When Rev. Christian Streit, in 1778 called as pastor to the Charleston congregation, in the same year paid a visit to Ebenezer, Triebner was still at the head of a party, and in the following year, as a letter of Streit to Mühlenberg informs us, was again acknowledged as pastor by the congregation. But his strong Toryism and the fact that he had moved the citizens of Ebenezer—who had been entirely in favor of independence—to swear allegiance to the English Crown, made him most obnoxious to the American government. He was made a prisoner, in 1782 was excluded from the proclamation of pardon, and spent, as Mühlenberg in 1783 states, his time in the neighborhood of St. Augustine in Florida, but soon left there and went to England, where he died in old age and in oblivion. By way of contrast we may state when, in 1764, the governor of the province commanded him to commend the Stamp Act, Rev. Rabenhorst answered that he thought it not his duty to agitate political questions, but to preach repentance, faith, and godliness to his people, and hoped thereby to contribute his share to make them good citizens.

Monday, Feb. 6, 1775, Mühlenberg, with his wife and daughter, left Ebenezer for Savannah, accompanied by Rabenhorst and eight male and two female companions on horseback.

There is no doubt that much good resulted from this visit to Ebenezer. Mühlenberg was fully persuaded that the unwise and unchristian behavior of Triebner was the main cause of all the troubles in the congregation. Besides Triebner's unwillingness to acknowledge the error of his way, his impetuosity and his vanity prevented the consummation of the great objects Mühlenberg had in view—viz. to re-estab-

lish harmony and peace among all the people, and to bring the congregation into a condition of lasting peace, regularity, and order. Much, however, was accomplished. Rabenhorst's Christian character was vindicated, and his pastoral authority was greatly increased; a good practical constitution was introduced; the foundation of a happy progress and increase of the church was laid, and its financial affairs were placed upon a better footing. That the events of the turbulent days and years of war greatly interfered with the quiet development of the congregation,—this no human wisdom could foresee, no human power prevent.

At Savannah, Mühlenberg and the members of his family again enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Millen. Wednesday, Feb. 8th, Rabenhorst bade farewell: by his religious fervor, his sincerity, unaffected humility, and conciliatory spirit he had for ever gained the respect and the fraternal love of Mühlenberg. The time until Friday, Feb. 17th, was employed by Mühlenberg in visiting the representatives of the government, and in influencing them as well as he could in behalf of Ebenezer. He was politely received and heard many pleasant words, but beyond this nothing was accomplished. Mühlenberg had no command of those means which even in diplomatic offices often move heads and hands. He also again enjoyed the intercourse and the hospitality of the enthusiastic Dr. Zübly. By him and other friends he was strongly advised to delay his departure until spring, and not to risk an ocean-voyage during the stormy season. To this advice he opposed his firm trust in God's providence. Mrs. Mühlenberg also was very desirous of returning to her own house and family at Philadelphia. Feb. 17th, with their daughter, they went on board the small ship which was to carry them to Philadelphia. Days of misery again came for father and for daughter, and to them the vessel was an instrument of torture. March 2d they were about sixty miles from Cape Henlopen when a violent north-west storm drove them one hundred miles out into the open sea. Having finally reached Delaware Bay, they rejoiced in hearing that the river was

open all the way up to Philadelphia, but in consequence of the false reckoning of the pilot the ship ran upon a sand-bank, and to get her afloat they were obliged to unload a large quantity of rice. Monday, March 6th, at noon, Philadelphia was reached. Mühlenberg and his companions hurried to their home and family, richer in experience and grateful to God for their preservation.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1773–1775 (*continued*).

Sickness of Dr. Kunze.—Political aspects.—Reports and insinuations against Mühlenberg.—He visits Reading, Tulpehoken, Pikestown.—The Germans of Philadelphia in the political conflict.—Christopher Ludwig.—Mühlenberg's opinion of General Washington.—The Hebron congregation in Virginia.—H. Moeller.—J. Frank.—Acquisition of a cemetery by the Philadelphia congregation.

THE return of Mühlenberg and his wife was most timely. For six weeks their son-in-law, Rev. J. C. Kunze, had been disabled by sickness from doing any pastoral work. To him and his wife a daughter had been born during the absence of the grandparents, but was after a few days taken from them. Rev. G. Henry E. Mühlenberg was also in a debilitated condition. The burden of the large congregation just in the winter season, when the numerous class of catechumens required close attention, had to the utmost tasked his physical strength.

There were other circumstances which required the presence of Mühlenberg on his ordinary field of action. The relations between the American provinces and the mother-country were in a condition of fermentation, and the future was most insecure. Party spirit rose to a height before unknown, and the passions were violently excited. That the measures carried out by the English government were unwise and calculated to irritate the inhabitants of the provinces could not be disputed. In feelings averse to England all shared. As to the measures for defending the American cause and for counteracting the despotic sway of England opinions differed. It was natural that many individuals, es-

pecially those serving the cause of religion and the Church, would not utter their sentiments in so critical a period, whatever may have been their personal convictions. Those who, under the influence of a peculiar situation, advance ideas opposite to the popular and prevailing views during turbulent times are exposed to the most senseless, often injurious, reports and judgments. In those days the position of many of the clergy was a peculiarly difficult one. The pastors of the Episcopal Church, who were sent as missionaries from England, had sworn allegiance to the Crown, and were to a large extent dependent on the contributions from England for their subsistence, especially labored under great difficulties, and numbers of them suffered terrible treatment at the hands of the populace.

Mühlenberg also came in for a share of very foolish and malignant reports and insinuations. At the request of the officers of the Reading, New Hanover, and Pikestown congregations, he travelled (May 24, 1775) to New Hanover, where dissensions threatened to do much harm; preached, and with the assistance of Voigt, the *pastor loci*, held the Lord's Supper; he had conference with the officers of the church, and then left for Reading, where a vacancy existed and where his advice was wanted. There he preached (May 28th) to a great concourse of people, whose curiosity was greatly excited. He says in his diary, "My wilful and unfair enemies in their hatred had spread gross calumnies against me throughout the whole province and neighboring provinces, among the ignorant people, concerning my tour to South Carolina and Georgia: the egg was hatched at Reading, because I was unwilling to serve the purposes of a number of vain pretenders and did not at once remove from them that right-minded man, Pastor Krug. It was reported that I corresponded with the court-preachers at London, and intended by their influence to introduce tithes here. This arrow was intended for our poor ministry. When, finally, during last year, the acts of Parliament were promulgated here, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, and I, with a part of my

family, left this part of the country, the mephitic vapors broke loose and spread to their greatest length, width, height, and depth. Among other things it was stated that the king had turned Papist and Mühlenberg was called to read Mass for him; also that Mühlenberg ran away to escape hanging by the people, but God's vengeance did not allow him to escape, as he suffered shipwreck between South Carolina and Georgia, and was drowned. True friends were grieved by these things; hesitating men thought it might be possible; the envious took it as true, and their rejoicing was like the crackling of thorns under the pots. The worst elements came to rest at my final return, yet many still believed the rumor that in Philadelphia I had been tarred and feathered, put upon a rail, carried about, and drummed out of the city. Some people coming from distant localities even asked me whether there was truth in the rumor." After service Mühlenberg requested all male members to remain, and in a meeting took their votes on Rev. H. Moeller, who a short time before had visited and preached there. He was elected by a large majority.

On this occasion Mühlenberg also paid a visit to his son-in-law, the Rev. Christian Em. Schulze, at Tulpehoken, whom he found very active among his numerous congregations, some of which, according to Mühlenberg's judgment, he ought to vacate; but, he adds, the danger is that vagabonds may creep in and try to make as much mischief as they can. After three days of rest with his daughter and her husband and of pleasure with his two grandchildren, on his way to Reading he was asked by a German coming from Virginia, and whom he had known thirty years before, "How is it that you German Lutheran ministers cause such misfortune, betray the liberties of this country, and instigate war?" Among other good things, Mühlenberg told him that the emperor Nero had set fire to the city of Rome and then blamed the Christians for it, in order to have a pretext for their persecution. On the following Sunday (Whitsunday, June 4th), Mühlenberg assisted in the dedication of the recently-erected fine stone church at Pikestown, and preached, "in consideration of the present

warlike times," on 1 Kings viii. 37–39 and 2 Chron. vii. 12–14. On this festival occasion also the Rev. W. Currie, missionary of the Anglican Church, and the pastor of the German Reformed congregation were invited to make addresses. Mühlenberg says this was done because the Lutherans lived in pleasant neighborly relations with both these parties. He had promised to return to Reading to preach there on Trinity Sunday, June 11th. At the proper time some prominent members of the vestry delegated by that body came to his lodgings formally to conduct him to the church. In the same manner they conducted him on his return to his lodgings, to show him their respect. Viewing this in contrast with the disgraceful rumors before spread, he says, "At one time Haman wants to put Mordecai and his brethren out of the way; at another time he carries him on a horse through the town and has it proclaimed that thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honor" (Esth. vi. 9). On his return to Philadelphia, Mühlenberg found that the men were everywhere engaged in military exercises, and that even small boys, formed into companies, were marching to the music of drums and held toy guns in their hands. The political excitement was universal and intense.

We know that in all matters appertaining to this department Mühlenberg was exceedingly careful, and that he kept out of the arena in which even victory was bought at a very high price by servants of the Church. But notwithstanding, as Dr. Kunze states, a Philadelphia publication of 1777 charged him and another clergyman with being the instigators of the whole rebellion against England. This calumny made his living in Providence, twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, insecure, since at that time the English had possession of Philadelphia. He consistently restricts himself in his diaries to taking the religious aspects of the social and political phenomena. Believing in a divine government of the world, he sees in national calamities—war, pestilence, etc.—the chastising hand of God, and applies this, under the circumstances, to the American provinces. Yet here and there, under the

excitement of those days, he cannot refrain from referring to the threatening aspect of the political horizon, and to the opinions which were pronounced by this and that party. A considerable number of people thought that England, seeing the martial spirit of the Americans aroused through all the provinces, would never risk a destructive war against her own children. But Mühlenberg refers to the mother who during the siege of Jerusalem, when suffering the agonies of hunger, ate her own child, and in a manner certainly not very complimentary to England adds that, "as naturalists and farmers know, occasionally a sow will devour some of her own litter; whence it is difficult to decide whether she acts thus from love or hatred." In many parts of his diary Mühlenberg in this period begins to enter upon political reflections and observations, but the leaves where he probably had given utterance to his views and feelings are carefully cut out, and we have reason to suppose that it was done by no hand but his own. He seriously considers the question of what might become of the properties which in Philadelphia were mortgaged to the legacies sent from Halle, and with reference to it addressed the "Fathers." In his peculiar and quaint style he says that it had to be decided whether under the existing troubles and dangers the Lutheran Church, considering that her property and existence here were involved, should now "conjugate in activo, passivo, or neutro." There is no doubt that during the struggle the Lutherans generally preferred the "activum."

Very interesting notices concerning the position taken in that decisive political conflict by the Germans in Pennsylvania, and especially by the Lutherans, we owe to the skilful and diligent hand of Dr. O. Seidensticker, professor in the University of Pennsylvania. In his *History of the German Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1876) he states that in 1775 the vestries of the German Lutheran and Reformed churches at Philadelphia sent a pamphlet of forty pages to the German inhabitants of the provinces of New York and North Carolina, wherein it is stated that in the near and remote parts of Pennsylvania the Germans have distinguished themselves by form-

ing not only militia, but a select corps of sharpshooters ready to march wherever they are required, while those who cannot do military service are willing to contribute according to their abilities. The pamphlet continues: "For this reason we are grieved to learn that it was stated before Congress that divers German people in Tryon county and some few in other places in the colony of New York do not give their sympathy to the common cause, and that many Germans in North Carolina are of the same mind." The pamphlet endeavors to demonstrate that all citizens of the colonies ought to carry out the measures taken by Congress, then assembled at Philadelphia, and that everywhere throughout the land the people ought to rise in arms against the despotism and the oppression of the English government. Can we wonder that a spirited young man like Peter Mühlenberg, a member of the German Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia, with his brothers, who moved in the same circle, there imbibed the spirit of freedom and devoted themselves to the noble cause of making their native country a free, independent nation? The volunteers in Pennsylvania were then called "Associators." The Germans among them at Philadelphia had their headquarters at the Lutheran school-house in Cherry street east of Fourth. In 1776 a German regiment was formed by order of Congress. It would be injustice not to mention in this connection the German patriot Christopher Ludwig, general baker for the army, who, by giving the American soldiers honest bread, with many other manifestations of his excellent, unselfish character, contributed his share to the triumph of liberty, and to whom, with proper appreciation, Washington used to refer as his "honest friend." Ludwig was a faithful member of the German Lutheran congregation and vestry. He habitually kept six poor children at school at his own expense, and proved his charity in various other ways.

It may be proper here to refer to the fact that Mühlenberg ever entertained an exalted reverence for George Washington, and on various occasions expresses himself in this way. As to the Farewell Address delivered by Washington when

resigning his high military office in 1783 after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris, Mühlenberg embodies in his diary of July 28th his admiration of the wisdom of the advice given, and copies the concluding words: "I now make it my earnest prayer that God would have you and the State over which you preside in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government, to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to have mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humanity, and pacific temper of mind which were characteristics of the divine Author of our blessed religion, and without a humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation." Mühlenberg fully appreciates the man in exalted position who openly professes Christ before men—a thing, he says, "so rare in the present generation of this so-called great world." He adds a quotation from Luther: "The souls of great men of the world will be in heaven as rare as venison on the poor man's table."

During the year 1775 the old Hebron congregation at Culpeper, Va., once served by the elder J. C. Stoever, and after his death by Sam. Klug, again became a care to Mühlenberg. His son Peter, from 1772 active in pastoral work at Woodstock in the Shenandoah Valley, Va., when paying a visit to Philadelphia in 1774, before his parents started for Georgia, confirmed the reports concerning the destitute condition of that congregation that had reached Pennsylvania. At that time also Henry Moeller, already known to us, had arrived at Philadelphia with good recommendations from Rev. W. Graaf of Hackensack, and for some time enjoyed the instruction of Kunze; he had also well employed his time and opportunities, and to some extent had qualified himself for the ministerial office. The people at Culpeper being very anxious to have a pastor, Mühlenberg gave to his son a license for him,

and Moeller soon after received a call from the Culpeper congregation. In 1775, on a tour to Philadelphia, where he was engaged to be married to a widow, he visited Rev. J. N. Kurtz at York, then præses of synod. At his request he went by the way of Reading, and there, after having preached, received a call from that church. His betrothed not being willing to go to Virginia, he relinquished his call to Culpeper, intimating that he acted in agreement with the wishes of H. M. Mühlenberg—a statement which was unauthorized. In consequence of this the people at Culpeper were considerably incensed against Mühlenberg, as his son Peter informed him. At the request of his father, Peter Mühlenberg again visited the Hebron congregation, and then came to Philadelphia to report. There was no parochial school open at Hebron; there were no regular services, no singing, no praying, no preaching, no administration of the sacraments; the church and parsonage were empty and the glebe was neglected; no Lutheran pastors were near enough to aid the congregation. Under these circumstances Mühlenberg's thoughts were directed to Mr. J. Frank, since 1767 a teacher in the parochial school of the German Lutheran church at Philadelphia—a man of excellent character, a good singer, not without the necessary erudition, of much experience as a teacher, of pleasing address, and not without spiritual life. Mühlenberg and his son Peter encouraged Frank to enter the pastoral service. During August, 1775, Frank paid a visit to Peter Mühlenberg at Woodstock, and then went to Culpeper, where (Aug. 28th) a call was given him, with the request that he should at once settle there. Having returned to Philadelphia, he was examined by Mühlenberg and his sons Frederick (then on a visit from New York) and Henry, and licensed by Mühlenberg, senior of the ministerium. Kurtz, then præses of synod, was requested to approve of this action. Frank served three years at Culpeper. In 1783, Paul Henkel, great-grandson of Gerhard Henkel, formerly mentioned, began in Virginia his useful labors, which included the Culpeper church.

The increase of the Philadelphia congregation—which in

1775 numbered no less than six hundred families—made the acquisition of a more extensive parochial burial-ground most desirable. The cemetery, situated at the north side of St. Michael's Church and belonging to the congregation, had hitherto been sufficient for the necessities of the membership, but it could not be expected that the congregation would be numerically reduced, and provision had to be made for future necessities. Through his friend the Rev. Rich. Peters, D. D., rector of Christ Church, Mühlenberg addressed Governor John Penn in behalf of his congregation, which, though still under a heavy debt in consequence of the erection of Zion Church, could pay a reasonable price for a suitable piece of ground. The times, however, were not propitious. The political excitement greatly disturbed all trades and commerce was prostrated. In this matter Mühlenberg also addressed the Hon. James Tilghman, secretary of the provincial council, and requested his kind assistance. The congregation had in view a piece of ground belonging to the governor, now bounded by Eighth and Franklin, Vine and Race streets. A part of it came into the possession of the congregation as early as 1776 for the sum of five hundred pounds, Pennsylvania currency, the governor retaining for himself the ground adjacent to Vine street, south side, one hundred and forty feet deep. The political leaning of the German Lutherans in those times was probably not pleasing to him, and made him rather unwilling to show any particular favor to them. When the congregation was made owner of that ground, the vestry allowed the membership to bury in it, but never gave any deed for a grave or a lot. The value of the ground continually rising with the increase of the city, the congregation in 1865 transferred the dead buried there to the ground bought in 1859 in Hart Lane (Lehigh avenue), west of Ridge avenue, sold most of the property between Eighth and Franklin streets, assisted other congregations growing out of the mother-church with a large part of the proceeds, and finally, in 1869 and the following year, erected in Franklin street, opposite Franklin Square, the new Zion Church and parsonage, and subse-

quently the school-house north of the church. After these great changes the old St. Michael and Zion were sold, and those time-honored and revered landmarks disappeared. The old school-house also, from whose belfry during the week the children of successive generations had been called to school, and on Sunday the congregation to the two churches standing in close proximity, was sold, and the larger portion of its walls is incorporated in a commercial building now occupying its former site. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

CHAPTER XXIX.

1776 et seq.

Mühlenberg again settles with his family at Providence.—Death of Ziegenhagen and Sigismund Streit.—Streit's legacy.—Mühlenberg's decreasing strength and loss of hearing.—Last attendance at synod.—He is created doctor of divinity.—End of his official relation to the Philadelphia congregation.—His labors in behalf of the proposed hymnbook of the ministerium.—The first edition of the Liturgy.—Mühlenberg's conservative principles on church services.—His private reading.—His meditations on the Bible.—Aversion to neology and irreligious tendencies.—Specimens of his correspondence.—Letters exchanged with Wrangel.—News from Ebenezer.—Rev. J. E. Bergmann.—Mühlenberg and the medical art.

FOR the period of thirty-two years H. M. Mühlenberg had done the work of a missionary and of a pastor in this country amid great hardships and unusual difficulties. For fifteen years he had presided over the German Lutheran congregation of St. Michael and Zion at Philadelphia. His efforts in behalf of the Lutheran Church as such were crowned with eminent success. Under his judicious guidance the Philadelphia congregation was raised out of the chaos in which he found it. It was now governed by a constitution of his making—one which proved to be a great blessing—and, as far as human wisdom and energy could provide for it, the future of that large body was secure. We cannot wonder that Mühlenberg, for some time feeling the increasing weakness of advancing age, desired to be—at least to some extent—relieved from duties becoming more and more arduous to him, and to retire to a more quiet life. We are safe in saying that no one was ever more entitled to rest in the evening of his days, and no one could better enjoy *otium cum dignitate* than he; for he was not inclined to rest on his laurels, but to keep them fresh

to his last breath. He did not wish to sink into debility and dotage in the presence of those who had for so long a period seen and admired and loved him in the glory of his vigorous and energetic manhood. To retire in proper time from the wonted scenes of our activity is wisdom the value of which he fully understood. Life in the city never offered him any particular attractions: his preference was decidedly for the country. The political complications of the times may also have exercised some influence upon him in this matter. He could willingly bid farewell to a city which was then the very focus of great national excitement and of most stirring events and transactions. Considering the possibilities of a bloody war and the position which his sons subsequently took in the great struggle of the provinces for independence, Mühlenberg could not be expected to expose himself in that city to the rudeness of the enemy and to jeopardize life and personal freedom. The congregation which he had so faithfully served and brought into a flourishing condition was now under the care of his son-in-law, Dr. Kunze, and of his son G. H. E. Mühlenberg: both of them willingly and conscientiously gave to it their talents and their energy, and both enjoyed universal esteem and love. The father felt that his trust was in good hands and that his personal presence was now less indispensable, while he was ever ready to offer his assistance in seasons of extraordinary labor or in any emergency.

Since June, 1774, Mühlenberg's official relation to the congregation had undergone some change. He retained then the title rector, but, the Fathers at Halle having ordered that on account of his long and faithful service in the church he should enjoy as a special benefice the interest of the Solms-Roedelsheim legacy invested in Philadelphia, it appears that he no longer claimed a regular salary from the Philadelphia congregation; but when he proposed to move to the country the vestry settled on him a yearly stipend of fifty pounds, and he virtually became the assistant pastor. In a letter of Oct. 31, 1778, to the Rev. G. A. Freylinghausen, D. D., one of the directors of the Halle Orphan-House, he speaks of the *Vi-*

cariats-Dienste during 1775; which means that he then no longer considered himself as regular actual pastor. His official connection with the congregation, however, did not cease until 1779.

Already during the year 1775 he endeavored to find a suitable place in the country to which he and his family might retire. Very naturally, his eyes were directed to Providence (Trappe), where he had been settled from 1745 to 1761, and where among German and English people he had many friends warmly attached to him. Here through so many years had been the headquarters of his pastoral and missionary activity, and many recollections of his earlier life in America made that locality peculiarly dear to him. His former possessions there, house and farm-land, sold by him to the surgeon Maertens, were now in the hands of Mr. George Diel, a friend of his and of his family. There were offered to him by another acquaintance, Mr. Church, for three hundred and forty pounds, Pennsylvania currency, a roomy and comfortable two-story stone building and seven acres of ground. This offer, though the house and the land had been much neglected—in addition to other improvements Mühlenberg was obliged to put in thirty-six panes of glass and plant two hundred trees—was not considered unfair, and Mühlenberg accepted it. Of the Solms-Roedelsheim legacy, amounting to eleven hundred and sixty pounds and invested in Philadelphia, the vestry transferred two hundred pounds to this property in Providence. One hundred pounds were added without demand of interest by Mr. Schaefer of Philadelphia, father-in-law of Fred. Aug. C. Mühlenberg, who wished his family to have a place of refuge in time of war or other disturbances; one hundred and sixty pounds, the rest of Mrs. Mühlenberg's paternal inheritance, helped also to put the property in a comfortable and useful condition. Mühlenberg moved to his newly-acquired home Mar. 18, 1776; the sale had been consummated in January. For some days he enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Diel, who also, as another proof of his good-will, brought to the house a load of wood.

In July, Mühlenberg took his wife and the youngest daughter, Mary Salome, to Providence. He had moved for the last time in his earthly pilgrimage. A statement made in one of his letters clearly proves that on the memorable Fourth of July, 1776, he was in Philadelphia. The house in which Mühlenberg resided at Providence until his end is still standing, about a quarter of a mile distant from Augustus Church. To strangers is pointed out the window from which he could view the American soldiery transiently encamped in the neighhood, and not in all respects proving good neighbors.*

During the year 1776, Mühlenberg received the sad news

* F. G. Hobson, Esq., of Norristown, Pa., furnishes us with much valuable detail concerning the state of affairs in that locality during the war, and especially during the time directly after the battle of Brandywine, which took place Sept. 11, 1777. Mühlenberg states in his diary of that day: "This morning we heard hard and long-continued cannonading, which seemed to be about thirty miles off, toward the Brandywine Creek." After that day Providence experienced much of the hardships of war. Sept. 16th, Mühlenberg says: "This afternoon, about one o'clock, we heard, toward the south-west, about fourteen miles from us, a sharp battle with field-pieces and small-arms in the midst of a heavy rain." This was the battle of Warren's Tavern, in Chester county. The Americans retreated and left Philadelphia exposed to the British. Washington crossed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford (now Lawrenceville) and marched toward Providence, coming out at the great road just above Augustus Church. Sept. 19th the British camp on the other side of the Schuylkill could be seen with the telescope. Washington marched with his troops to the Perkiomen, and the regiments encamped on both sides of the creek. On Sept. 22d, with his whole army he encamped on the hills right above Trappe (Providence), with different companies scattered around the village at various places. On the same day the British general Howe crossed the Schuylkill, and a feint was made for a while, as though to move to Trappe; yet the British army moved south along the Schuylkill, and on the 26th entered Philadelphia. A party of the British had arrived on the 22d at New Providence township. The American army was then at New Hanover and Pottsgrove (Pottstown). It moved (Sept. 25th) toward Providence, but at Limerick Square turned toward Schwenksville. A part of it came to Trappe and made its headquarters in the Lutheran church and the school-house, both of which were on that occasion shamefully desecrated. The soldiers of the militia behaved very rudely and predatorily, and Father Mühlenberg had his chickens stolen and horses driven into his buckwheat-field. In consequence of the battle of Germantown (Oct. 4, 1777), Washington, with the main body of his army, returned to his former quarters at Schwenksville, and the militia to their camp at Trappe. Dec. 12th, Washington, with his whole army, went into winter-quarters at Valley Forge, where he remained until June 18, 1778.

of the death of the venerable, beloved Dr. Ziegenhagen at London, and of another man whose name also deserves to be kept in grateful remembrance in the Lutheran Church—in America no less than in Germany. This was Sigismund Streit (born at Berlin Apr. 13, 1687), who as a young man without any means, but of good Christian principles, had gone to Venice, found a situation in a mercantile house, established in 1715 a business of his own, acquired, under the blessing of Providence, considerable wealth, never married, died Dec. 20, 1775, at Padua, where for some years he had resided, and was buried Dec. 22d in the Protestant cemetery at Venice. He frequently corresponded with the Rev. Dr. G. A. Francke at Halle and other men of Christian character and responsible positions, and was moved not only to transfer to the classical high school (gymnasium) at Berlin the sum of sixty-three thousand thalers, but in 1753 to deliver fifteen thousand florins to the directors of the Halle Orphan-House, to be administered by them. An equal sum he gave to them in the following year, and again seventeen hundred florins in 1756. The interest of these sums he retained for himself during his lifetime; after his death the half of the interest of the sum-total was to be used for the benefit of the Lutheran Church in America, the other half for the Lutheran missions in East India. In accordance with the will of the founder, these provisions are still carried out. In America the benefit is shared in equitable proportions by the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent States, the Synod of West Pennsylvania, and the Ministerium of New York. The principal is invested in Prussia under the control of the authorities of the Halle Orphan-House, who are responsible to the royal government.

One of the special reasons why Mühlenberg retired from regular pastoral activity was the loss of hearing in connection with general debility. At a military funeral the misfortune was greatly aggravated by the discharge of guns in his proximity. In a letter to Rev. Dr. Freylinghausen dated Oct. 31, 1778, he says: "Concerning myself, the supernumerary, or 'the

fifth wheel of the wagon,' it may be said I daily and hourly expect the call to eternity. 'Last winter I was obliged to stay up many a night, and, in consequence of having taken cold, was troubled with neuralgia in the head; the military salutes at a funeral in Philadelphia, July 28, A. C., nearly destroyed the rest of my hearing, so that since that time I have suffered continually with giddiness and ringing in the ears, as if I were in a mill or alongside of a cataract. I can occasionally preach, but am unable to hold public catechization because of the loss of my hearing." For a time he had charge of the New Hanover congregation; and whenever he was called upon, and he felt strong enough, he preached not only at Providence—taking care of this his wonted field of labor in connection with Rev. Voigt, who after resigning the Hanover charge (1776) settled at Pikestown, west of the Schuylkill—but also in neighboring churches, and at first occasionally, in later years very rarely, in Philadelphia. At Providence, when Voigt held services, he sometimes played the organ. During the spring of 1781, notwithstanding his infirmity, he instructed forty-four young catechumens in New Hanover, five others at Providence. Oct. 31, 1778, after the departure of the English from Philadelphia, he preached in Zion Church, which during their temporary possession of the city (Nov. 22, 1777) had been transformed into a military hospital. The furnishing of the large building with galleries and pews had been done in cheap times before the war with an outlay of about two thousand three hundred pounds; now all this had been destroyed, and it was not until 1782 that the church was again properly restored. Whoever wished to sit during services was obliged to bring his own chair. During the war many members of the congregation had moved to the country. Mühlenberg's own son Henry had found a refuge in his father's house at Providence, but even his father was in danger of being made a prisoner by the English, and Kunze had sole charge of the Philadelphia congregation during their presence. Father Mühlenberg spent some time at Philadelphia during the spring of 1779, but was at that period already troubled with swelling of the feet.

When, in 1781 (June 10), synod assembled in Philadelphia he was present. The meeting of synod in the following year at Lancaster he could not attend, neither any of the subsequent meetings. A copy of the minutes was sent to him by synod. By special invitation he preached in Zion (Sept. 22, 1782) at the rededication of the building. For some time many voices greatly desiring his return to the city were heard in the Philadelphia congregation; his increasing feebleness prevented such a change. Already during the winter of 1784–85 he complained that without assistance he could no longer dress himself or ascend the steps leading to the pulpit. On June 9, 1787, he paid the last visit to his daughter Mary Catharine, married to Major Francis Swain, sheriff of Montgomery county, Pennsylvania. His youngest daughter, Mary Salome, in 1782 married Mr. Matthias Richards, the ancestor of several highly-respected theologians in the Lutheran Church. The last pastoral act performed by H. M. Mühlenberg, a few days before entering into eternal rest, was baptizing, on Sept. 29, 1787, a child of John Frey of Providence.

When, in 1784, the University of Pennsylvania made H. M. Mühlenberg a doctor of divinity—an act which might have been performed at a much earlier date without in any way infringing upon the dignity of the institution—Kunze forwarded the news to his venerated father-in-law in a letter of June 12th. Mühlenberg says in his diary that the D. D. on the outside of the letter at first startled him, since he had no inkling of the intention to honor him in this way; he next thought it an error of Kunze: when he read of his new dignity, he remembered that very ignorant people in Upper Lusatia at Grosshennersdorf had called him *magister*, and his companions on board the brigantine in which he crossed the Atlantic had dubbed him doctor, since he wore a cockade in the form of a rose on his hat and sometimes administered Halle medicines to the sick. In his answer he requested Kunze and all his friends to ignore his new title in their intercourse with him.

When, in 1776, Mühlenberg moved to Providence, his offi-

cial connection with the Philadelphia congregation was thereby not dissolved: he still was pastor, had the title "rector," and retained his seat and his vote in the vestry. March 24, 1779, the vestry passed a resolution that since H. M. Mühlenberg, Sr., had moved to the country, the congregation yearly pay him fifty pounds, that the rectorship be declared vacant, and that a rector be elected; thereupon Dr. Kunze was unanimously elected rector. It appears that a certain expression used by Mühlenberg in a letter sent some time before to Philadelphia had been misunderstood by Kunze, and interpreted as a desire to be released from his office as rector and from all further responsibility. When the resolution was passed the president of the vestry remonstrated against it; Kunze, who acted as secretary, remained passive. His colaborer, Henry E. Mühlenberg, was, as it seems, not present at the meeting, but heard of it soon afterward—was greatly offended at Kunze and the vestry, and sympathized with the large number of the membership who considered the action of the vestry very objectionable. Those who had voted for the resolution maintained that Father Mühlenberg's removal from the city was equal to a formal resignation; but he had left the city with the permission and the knowledge of the vestry, and with the understanding that he was still rector. On the whole subject there was considerable agitation throughout the congregation. In a congregational meeting G. H. E. Mühlenberg, with whom his brothers were in full sympathy, expressed his disapprobation in very strong terms, resigned Apr. 5th, and afterward moved to New Hanover. April 26th a number of members violently interrupted the meeting of the vestry. Kunze was in great distress. He wrote letters of apology to Father Mühlenberg, who, of all those interested in this unfortunate affair, was the most calm, and never for a moment lost his mental equilibrium, though it appeared probable to him that he would be obliged to end his labors at Philadelphia amid congregational strife, as he had begun them in 1761. On Friday, Apr. 9th, he received from the Philadelphia vestry a letter signed by its presiding officer,

Mr. Schaefer, wherein the assurance is given that there had been no intention to offend a father whose spiritual children they had for so many years been, that they had acted thinking that the charter of the congregation demanded such action, and that now they invited him to come and preach on the following Sunday. And Mühlenberg came, and preached Apr. 11th, the first Sunday after Easter, in Zion, on John xx. 19 sqq., not at all alluding to the existing dissensions, but laying stress upon the words of Jesus, "Peace be unto you!" On the two following days he visited a number of friends, and everywhere impressed it on all whom he met that it was self-evident that in his great debility he could no longer bear the responsibility of an office. On Wednesday, Apr. 14th, Mühlenberg appeared in the meeting of the vestry and requested that, as he was there in the capacity of both plaintiff and defendant and could not preside, they would elect a chairman. Mr. Dav. Schaefer was elected. Then, presenting his case, Mühlenberg said that, contrary to the charter and the constitution of the congregation, ten members had deposed him from his office and elected another rector. His name, he said, was well known in Europe and in America, and such an act would greatly injure his public reputation. He could not pass over it in silence: he would be obliged to lay the case before the congregation, and, if this brought no relief, before the courts of law; but, as a lover of congregational peace, he would propose that they should at once rescind the resolution of his discharge and allow him afterward to hand in his resignation. There was no difficulty on this point. Resolutions were passed stating that there had been no intention to offend the venerable pastor of the congregation, that they gladly embraced this opportunity to express their never-ending and exalted esteem for him, and accepted his suggestion that his removal from the city did not sever his official connection with the congregation; consequently, the resolution of March 24th lost its efficacy. Mühlenberg now formally handed in his resignation; upon its acceptance a resolution was passed granting him a yearly pension of one hundred pounds. And

now Kunze was regularly elected rector; which title was, however, shortly afterward (1781) abolished. In this way further strife was prevented, and Mühlenberg closed his official career with a peaceful triumph of dignified firmness, wisdom, and good-will. The relation between Kunze and his brothers-in-law was not so soon amicably restored, and a few years later he was even impelled to bring charges against one of them before the præses of synod for the use of abusive language.

After preaching in Zion, April 18th, Mühlenberg gave to the congregation the necessary information concerning the action of the vestry. That he performed this duty in the spirit of peace and charity,—of this we need not inform our readers. He added that he had been invested with the right to appear from time to time in the midst of the congregation and to preach to them. We know already that this was done as his health and other circumstances permitted. Apr. 25th his son Henry preached in Zion his farewell sermon before removing to the country, where he took charge of the New Hanover congregation until he was called to Lancaster. The address concerning his resignation delivered by him at the conclusion of his farewell sermon in Philadelphia was not calculated to pour oil upon the troubled waters, though it did honor to the heart of the son of the aged pastor.

Being released from the performance of heavy pastoral duties and responsibilities, Mühlenberg, though for a time serving at New Hanover and assisting Voigt in the service at Providence, could devote more time to labors which could be performed as well in the quiet of the study in behalf of the ministerium and of the Church at large. When, in 1782, it was resolved that synod should publish a hymnbook for the use of the united congregations, he was requested to collect hymns for the book and to write the preface. He went to work conscientiously, and his selection proves his fine recognition of the necessities of the Lutheran Church and his distaste for neological conceptions and phraseology. From the treasures of German Lutheran hymnology he offered to the congregation a collection showing his preference for the older

hymns of the Church, without neglecting those of a later period. We cannot wonder that the hymns of the earlier period of Pietism also found favor with him. But the sympathy with the song of the preceding period had not outlived itself, and never will outlive itself as long as there shall be a German Lutheran Church. Mühlenberg was too conservative a Churchman to deprive Lutherans of hymns to which tradition and habit had attached them, and which strenuously echoed the Lutheran faith. In this respect this hymnbook, the largest part of which Mühlenberg compiled, and which was published by synod in 1786, is much superior to the one edited under synodical authority in 1849, but does not attain to the merits of the *Kirchenbuch* edited by the General Council of the Lutheran Church in America and representing the highest standard of liturgical and hymnological theory. There are elements in the book of 1786 for which we would not like to make Mühlenberg responsible. What he says in his preface on the principles which ought ever to guide those who are entrusted with collecting hymns for the use of congregations, and those who furnish the music corresponding to the sacred character of divine worship, has not lost its value at the present time.

The Liturgy published also in 1786 by synod essentially harmonizes with the hymnbook of that year. It even more purely expresses the creed of genuine Lutheranism: in it we have, though with some change, those liturgical forms which since the formation of synod in 1748 were used by mutual understanding by the pastors of the united congregations. Mühlenberg entertained very conservative ideas concerning the forms and the instrumentalities of public worship throughout the Lutheran Church. In giving, as præses of synod, catechists permission to serve in their respective fields of labor, he laid great stress on this—that they should solemnly promise not to deviate in any way from the order of service prescribed by synod, and not introduce new forms of their own taste or invention. In a letter of Nov. 5, 1783, addressed to Dr. Godfr. Enox of Loonenburg on the Hudson, he says: "It would be

a most desirable and advantageous thing if all the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in the North American States were united with one another, if they all used the same order of service, the same hymnbook, and in good and evil days would show an active sympathy and fraternally correspond with one another." In speaking of his labor in collecting hymns he says in his diary of Jan. 21, 1783, that synod had resolved the book should contain seven hundred and fifty hymns; that, following the "Halle epitome in heavy type," he had selected five hundred and thirty-four; that from a number of hymnbooks containing excellent material he could make no selection, since they were not furnished him. He says: "Hymns on the last judgment, intimating its speedy advent and introducing unsuitable signs of its approach, I omitted; also those which, following the language of Solomon's Song, use terms having a taint of the sensual; also those which speak of Jesus in a playful manner, etc. in diminutive terms, because such language, though intended as child-like and familiar, appears to me childish and not according to Scripture language. Hymns, however, of the oldest and of subsequent times which are known to all Lutherans from childhood are not omitted, though, while they are orthodox, their style and rhythm may appear somewhat harsh." Certain errors of Moravian hymnology may in this matter have exercised an influence upon Mühlenberg.

We know that in his liberality Mühlenberg went so far as to invite Whitefield to be present at a public school-examination in St. Michael's and to preach once in Zion at Philadelphia; but he was not inclined indiscriminately to open Lutheran churches to other denominations. March 23, 1783, Rev. Voigt informed him that an English Methodist was creating disturbance in his congregations west of the Schuylkill, and that some of his adherents intended to open the Lutheran churches to him. In a letter addressed to the officers and membership of those congregations Mühlenberg gave decisive advice not to allow that person to preach in Lutheran pulpits, because those who gave such a permission "take

upon themselves a very heavy responsibility before God and all the united Lutheran congregations."

When Mühlenberg retired from regular pastoral work he found leisure—and made good use of it—for meditation, reading, the continuation of his diaries, and correspondence. The study of the Scriptures had at all times engaged his mind. In his later years he paid special attention to the prophetic voices of the Bible. All publications referring to the word of God engaged his peculiar interest. This is clearly evidenced by his careful manner of preparing his sermons, of which not one has come down to us in complete form, while in his private papers are found sketches prepared by him with the greatest care and elaboration in every particular. We plainly see that it was not his habit to be satisfied with a few leading propositions, and to trust that in the pulpit the flesh would attach itself in beautiful proportions and muscular strength to the few bare bones—a method which often ruins a talented preacher and keeps barren one without talents.

Of his meditations on the Bible Mühlenberg left many traces in his diaries, and an interesting anthology of them might easily be compiled. His annotations frequently are suggestive and very practical, indicative of independent thought, with a firm conviction of the inspiration of the Scriptures and their authoritative character. As a sample of his way of treating Bible questions we here introduce his remarks on the admission of Judas Iscariot into the discipleship of Jesus. He says: "When reading the history of Judas we can hardly escape the question, Why did Christ call this man and permit him to be among his most intimate disciples and friends, while through his divine omniscience he had the foreknowledge of the condition of his heart and the issue of his career? I answer in the language of our Lord: 'That the Scriptures may be fulfilled: He that eateth my bread with me, has lifted up his heel against me' (Ps. xli. 10; John xiii. 18). Here simple-minded people will say, 'If this be thus, Judas could not act differently; otherwise, the Scriptures would not have been

fulfilled.' It will be almost impossible to make people not used to more acute thinking understand the meaning of the terms 'spontaneity of the human mind' or 'freedom of will,' since they do not delight in the abstract, but the concrete. The divine purpose in admitting a hypocrite and dissimulating arch-enemy among the select twelve disciples and most intimate friends of our Saviour during his state of humiliation and the last few years of his earthly pilgrimage, and permitting him by day and by night to be about the Redeemer and to observe closely all his words, deeds, and even secret actions, was to associate with our Lord a spy who afterward, when his conscience was awakened, himself testified to the Saviour's innocence when he said before the Pharisees, 'I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood,' If Judas, during his most intimate intercourse with Jesus, had observed or discovered the least error in his teachings or the least wrong in his conduct and works, he would have made use of it in self-defence, and said, 'I was right in betraying him, he is only receiving his deserts,' etc."

Mühlenberg at times expresses his grief when he sees that in Germany Neology and Rationalism were in his day beginning to make inroads into theology, and especially into the whole treatment and interpretation of the Scriptures. During the last years of his life he took much interest in reading J. L. Semler's autobiography (published 1781–82), though he knew that Semler, while never ceasing to discharge the duties of personal piety in his home circle, by his very free treatment of the Bible-text had opened the gates in Germany for the rationalistic treatment of the Bible narratives. He found profitable reading in J. Jac. Hess's *Last Three Years of the Life of Jesus* (published and edited at Leipsic, 1768, in two volumes)—a book published since that time under a changed title in various editions, and not without value even for our generation. He also took interest in Crusius's *Morals;* Goecking's *History of the Salzburg Emigration;* Mosheim's *Church History;* Magn. Fr. Roos's *Christian Confession of Faith and Convincing Proof of the Divine Origin of the Bible*

against Objections most recently raised; J. Jac. Moser's *Monthly Contributions to the Advancement of True Christianity;* the writings of Gellert, Michaelis, J. A. Bengel, the *Missionary Reports* of East India, and in a number of other publications of similar character. In a letter to Dr. Kunze, speaking of Deism and Naturalism in his times, he expresses the hope that Germany will produce men capable of demonstrating the shallowness of such views and counteracting their evil influences. He was much grieved to learn that some men intended to republish Voltaire's *Works* in America. When, Oct. 8, 1778, an offensive article setting forth that "Adam was indicted for eating the fruit, etc., he pleaded guilty, and on trial the jury found him guilty, etc.," had appeared in Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet*, Mühlenberg's indignation being roused, he prepared to that scoffing piece an answer beginning, "Whatsoever intention, aim, or purpose the anonymous writer might have in view, I am sorry he did choose the wrong object for sport, ridicule, and mockery. The sacred Scriptures, delivered unto Christian nations in the original languages and careful translations, contain the foundation upon which the Christian religion is built, and remain an inestimable treasure, light, and comfort for millions of mortals endued with common sense and in earnest to promote their temporal and eternal peace and happiness, and therefore should not be abused and profaned. The present remarkable Revolution in North America calls all civilized nations to attention and causes the newspapers to be transported, translated, and read in all the inhabited parts of the world. What ideas must civil and religious people form of the North American inhabitants when they see such base and scurrilous pieces published, which tend to ridicule and profane the sacred Scriptures and Christian religion? And what security, peace, and prosperity can the wisest and best government of States expect from oaths, attests for allegiance, if they tamely suffer the principles and foundations of religion thus publicly to be buffooned, vilified, and the liberty so dearly defended and bought by many precious lives and anxious struggles to be turned into licentiousness, and thou-

sands of sober, religious, and useful members of the commonwealth to be affronted and grieved? History affords dreadful instances of empires, kingdoms, and states, how they ended in ruin by licentiousness and overwhelming national vices. And, concerning the anonymous writer in particular, we wish he may be admitted into a charity school, there to learn that the almighty and omniscient God, Creator and Preserver of the universe, had no need to call a jury inquiring into the transgression of Adam, and that he does not want any harlequin or fool to inquire, What kind of wood? What part of the garden? What kind of fruit? etc. etc." Certainly, the indignation which finds vent in these words does honor to the author's heart and head. It also cannot escape our observation that Mühlenberg here in 1778 speaks of the States and the liberty gained in the struggle as something about which there is no longer any doubt in his mind.

The correspondence with Europe suffered much interruption during the war. In December, 1782, Mühlenberg complains that since February, 1779, he had received no letters from Halle. The war had inaugurated the period in which the Lutheran Church in America peacefully entered upon her independence from the "Fathers" in Europe. The correspondence between those men who, like Kunze and Helmuth, were sent from Halle and the Halle directors did not cease during their lifetime, but it was not of the character of former years; and after the publication of the *Halle Reports* from 1745–85 in collective form in 1787, no such *Reports* from the united Lutheran congregations in North America were given to the public. The United States began the peaceful evolution of their political and social life; Europe was startled by the terrors of the French Revolution, overwhelmed by bloody wars, and finally reconstructed.

In his correspondence not only with the members of his family, but with the brethren in the ministerial office and with others, Mühlenberg faithfully continued until the end of his days. Thereby he exercised an exceedingly beneficial influence. In his letters he was no less outspoken than in his

personal intercourse. He was a friend who would sacrifice much for the sake of friendship, but never the truth. He knew the weakness of human nature, but, while fully sympathizing with the ills to which it is exposed, he never was willing to give way to its whims. Having at all times made heavy claims upon himself, he tried to arouse the latent energies in others and to direct them to practical views of life and the plain path of duty.

Of this we can offer to our readers very striking examples. Returning from Charleston, S. C., the Rev. Christian Streit was for a time pastor of the New Hanover charge. He suffered the loss of an only child, and the physician—Dr. Rush of Philadelphia—whom he had consulted about the sickly condition of his wife plainly told him that he should prepare himself for his separation from her, since no cure was to be expected. It seems that this announcement put Streit into a state of deep melancholy. When visiting Mühlenberg in July, 1782, he was very despondent, spoke of being unable to preach, and was altogether downcast. Mühlenberg, who entertained very friendly feelings toward him, was grieved to see him in this condition, but saw in it a moral and spiritual weakness which should be counteracted. To him he addressed a letter in which, after alluding to the information received from Dr. Rush and to Streit's melancholy, he says, "Does what the doctor said appear to you so strange? We all have to die. Death is the reward of sin, and our dear Lord died for all the children of Adam, that in and through him we may have eternal life; and those who through the Holy Ghost believe in him and live for him shall even 'not taste death,' but at once enter into rest and the glorious life to come. My dear brother, you are a magister, a master of science and the liberal arts; you have studied theology; you are ordained and called upon to preach to others the whole story of salvation, and by teaching and by your walk and conversation to convince them of the truth of revelation. The universal order of things encompasses every part of the whole. Since we all have to die, the partner of your life makes no exception. How is it possible

that a truth so well known and experienced from day to day could depress your mind to such an extent and make you melancholy? Your beloved grandparents, whom I personally knew, your much-beloved mother, who was a lover of our Lord Jesus and of his gospel, have gone to their rest; even your own dear child died; I and you have to die: how can it appear to you strange that the physician says that your beloved wife will have to die? Knowing that through the blood of Christ she is in true faith purified from all sin and that her soul is clothed with his righteousness, you might rather wish and in your chamber pray God, who owns her, that according to his fatherly goodness and mercy he may soon release her from the sufferings of painful sickness and take her into his care and kingdom. We desire those whom we love to enjoy not only what is good, but what is better and the very best. You have not created, not ransomed, not adopted her in holy baptism, not crowned her with glory; she belongs to God: he alone has the right to give and to take as it may please him.' Remember, 'Well done is all that God may do.' There is a cordial in this. You, my dear brother, have much more cause to adore God in truth and to offer thanks to him in humility than to give way to depressing and melancholy thoughts. God's kind providence released you from your tribulations in Carolina and brought you to Philadelphia. Deprived of all external means and without money, you could not have remained there in the present time while high prices rule. I consider it providential that you came to New Hanover. Even here no place would have been found for sick Mrs. Streit unless you had been acquainted with Mr. Swaine and my daughter, who could offer you a room; for in the country a spare chamber and opportunity for boarding are rarely found. To occupy a house of your own with a sick person you had neither furniture nor servants. Consequently, you will have to learn to adapt yourself to the ways of Providence, to exercise mutual forbearance, and mutually to relieve the burdens until God will bring about a change and ease the circumstances. As to

the rest, I pray God that he may mercifully guard you against obnoxious melancholy and sceptical thoughts, and strengthen your mind and preserve it to the advantage of the congregation. For if you will deprive yourself of the ability needed for the sacred service, the cause of the Master will suffer; you will be without sustenance, and can help neither yourself nor your wife in these distressing circumstances. And I pray that God may consummate the work of his grace through his word and Spirit in the heart of our sick sister, that when He who owns her shall call her she may depart in joyful faith and full of comfort. You, my dear brother, are now like the spring in the watch. Should you through unnecessary melancholy, whims, and notions be confused and disabled from preaching, the whole work will end in disorder and confusion and suffer much damage. I advise you to take much exercise; this will drive away restless caprices. I was glad to learn you visited old Burkhard and administered to him the Lord's Supper. Be not faithless, but believing, manly, and strong in the Lord Jesus, and beware of disorders of the mind which change gnats into elephants. The sainted Luther says, *Oratio, meditatio, et tentatio* will make a theologian." Mühlenberg adds that he intended to pay a visit to Streit and to his wife, but was not well enough to do so. In all this letter we see the intention to arouse Brother Streit to a common-sense view of his situation, to an active faith, and to energy of will. There is not the least sentimentality in it, but a real desire to do good to the brother.

While pastor in Philadelphia, Mühlenberg had become one of the sponsors of a certain young man who had so far advanced in years as to realize his duty to become a member of the Church. To satisfy his own conscience, Mühlenberg addressed (April 26, 1787) the following letter to him in English:

"Much esteemed Friend: Divine Providence has brought us into a certain relation and connection by which we are obliged to answer before God Almighty. When I had the

honor to engraft you by holy baptism into the kingdom of Christ our Saviour, and stand godfather upon request of your beloved father and mother, who were faithful members of the German Evangelical religion and Church, I, together with your dear parents, promised, by the help of God, to see you educated and instructed in the principles of our holy religion to become an exemplary Christian in deed. Your beloved parents were early promoted to eternity and you left an innocent orphan in this state of trial and vexation. A wonderfully kind and merciful Providence has been leading you to the years of discretion endowed with sound reason, understanding, and wisdom, and it is now time to perform and fulfil the sacred promise, vow, and covenant on our side solemnly made in holy baptism—viz. to become a true and faithful member of our blessed Saviour in his kingdom of grace by preparing and partaking the ordained and commanded Lord's Supper as the Lord himself enjoins: 'Do this in remembrance of me,' and 'You are my friends if you do whatsoever I command you.' If you have a mind so to do and to join with our holy religion and communion, which affordeth sound and saving doctrine sufficient for justifying faith and sanctifying life, you may easily spend some hours in the evening to converse either with the Rev. Mr. Kunze or with the Rev. Mr. Helmuth, who liveth at Mr. Keppele's, not far from your abode, who will be kind enough to give you advice concerning preparation and confirmation. If you seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, purchased by the sufferings and death of our Saviour for your precious immortal soul, the rest pertaining to an honest bodily maintenance will be added by industry and frugality. For what is a man profited if he should gain the whole transient world and lose his soul? I know your conscience and feelings are too tender to imitate other irreligious young gentlemen who walk in the broad way that leadeth, after a short foolish pleasure, to endless misery, woe, and destruction.

"Hoping, much esteemed friend, you will not take my simple admonition amiss, nor neglect the most important point

tending to your temporal welfare and eternal happiness and to the ease of my conscience, I recommend you to the tender mercy of our most glorious Redeemer and to the most gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, the only true Comforter; and remain your well-wishing friend and servant,

"H. M., Sr."

What tender care for a young man exposed to many dangers and temptations is here exhibited! We see that Mühlenberg was very far from considering the sponsorship a mere form. It was exactly in the same spirit that in the leisure hours of evening he instructed a servant-girl in spelling, reading and the Catechism, because in her youth she had been neglected in those things.

Hardly anything ever aroused a livelier indignation in Mühlenberg than the information he received (April 21, 1784) that Rev. W. Kurtz, formerly of Earltown (New Holland), later of Lebanon, Pa., brother of the highly-respected Rev. J. Nic. Kurtz of York, Pa., at a special conference had maintained and intended to demonstrate that the apostles had preached false doctrines, that especially St. Paul had introduced in Rom. ix.–xi. pharisaic leaven *de facto*, and that we must exclusively follow the teachings of Christ himself. Mühlenberg's letter to him, while it breathes a spirit of grief, is in its tone most decided, spares the offender in no way, shows up the consequences of such confused and frivolous notions, and puts W. Kurtz into the predicament of "a mere apprentice in theology, and a man of weak judgment who has no conception of the compass of the inner connection of the teachings of Christ, and apparently had no occasion, neither sought it, to read and to study the paraphrases and annotations of the most approved theologians—who does not know the depths of Satan, thinks entirely too much of himself, and does not guard against his own thoughts." "You remind me," says Mühlenberg, "of a man who wished to buy a Bible of me, but emphatically and frivolously added, 'But one without glosses, for I make my own glosses.'" Finally, Mühlen-

berg writes: "Until something better is proposed, I know no better counsel than—1. That I, provided my life is spared, at the next meeting of the Ministerium lay this matter before the same, with the request to appoint a committee and to have this subject impartially investigated. 2. Such committee should demand of Rev. Wm. Kurtz a declaration in writing and arguments supporting his propositions, to investigate them as time and opportunity may be given, and send in their judgment in writing to the *præses ministerii.* 3. Suppose that he, Rev. W. Kurtz, could not substantiate his propositions (in my opinion they cannot be proved), but would continue to be opinionated and make no retraction, the Rev. Ministerium, for conscience' sake, would be necessitated to exclude him until a change for the better would take place in his views, to warn the congregations against him, and to report on the unfortunate affair to the Right Rev. the Fathers in Europe. For such cancers seem at first only trifling excrescences, but soon are enlarged unless the root is cut out in proper time; and a little leaven can easily leaven the whole lump." In conclusion, Mühlenberg assures W. Kurtz that true love and interest in his true welfare as a brother dictated this letter. The answer of W. Kurtz (dated Lebanon, May 19, 1785) contains a humble admission that he sometimes allows his tongue too much freedom, but, avoiding the main point of the accusation, lays stress upon the exceptional position of our Lord Christ, who alone was the perfect, infallible Teacher whom God had anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows (Heb. i. 9).

Oct. 21, 1784, Mühlenberg rejoiced over the arrival of a letter from his friend and colaborer C. M. Wrangel, dated Sahla in Sweden, June 15, 1784. It shows Wrangel's continued attachment to his friend, and, in addition to the expressions of brotherly love, contains various items which may be of interest to our readers. Speaking of himself and contrasting his changed situation with his experience in America, he says (we give his own English): "As for my part, I suppose you have heard that after my return I have been called to

bear the testimony of the ever-blessed Saviour before a court and the great of this world. Instead of riding on horseback, I have been obliged to drive in stately coaches; but believe, sir, I have always had my heart and spirit in America, and all the honor and favor of the world have been as nothing to me against the pleasure to labor with the Lord's singular blessing, you being my fellow-laborer and sufferer. I am now settled in a very comfortable manner, in a very pleasant part of the country, having two parishes and four assistant ministers and sixteen congregations under mine inspection as provost. I keep my station at court as great almoner and chaplain of the Most Honor. Order of Seraphim, but the travelling several times a year for six years hurt so much my health that I was obliged to ask my dismission." Speaking of America, he continues: "Mr. Acrelius is in life, but 'most blind, and unable to do anything. The society *pro fide et Christianismo* flourishes by the blessing of God, and the place of our archbishopric is filled with a zealous and pious man, the worthy Dr. Menander. He esteems and loves your name very much. I am now about to write the *History of the German Lutheran Congregations in America*, and the first volume is under the press. I am happy to have an opportunity to open a scene of divine mercy in which the Lord has pleased to honor you in so remarkable a manner. I should be glad to have a complete account of that which has happened since my time, for the second part. Your son-in-law, Mr. Kunze, has honored me with a letter, to which I returned an answer, by way of Cadiz, and hope it has come safe to hand. Our agent of that place has given notice that it was sent open to Philadelphia. I sent him seven pieces for you that have been printed by me, of which the sermon printed on the king's coronation, on the great Revolution, and on the opening of the Order of Wasa, were published by the king's special command. I have since published a treatise on the character of our Lord as Saviour of the world, and am about to print a *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*." Of all this, the volume published on the *History of the German Lutheran*

Congregations in America would to us have most interest, for we never saw a copy of it. Mühlenberg's answer (dated Oct. 22, 1784), framed in his usual courteous style, compares Wrangel with Joseph, who in Egypt finally was raised to highest honors, but forgot neither his God nor his father's house, and then gives an outline of the condition of the German Lutheran congregations at the time of writing. It especially speaks of those pastors of whom Wrangel still had a remembrance, and of the prominent events in Mühlenberg's life since Wrangel's departure. Mühlenberg's sons also, in whom Wrangel had taken a friendly interest, came in for a share, and no less Kunze, Helmuth, Schulze, Schmidt, and Krug. He says that he is unable to give any report on the Swedish pastors, since they no longer desire a more intimate relation with the Germans, and since the circumstances are changed. To his signature he adds *Candidatus mortis.* The correspondence between the two old friends had been interrupted since 1773, and soon ceased altogether, Mühlenberg (April 22, 1787) receiving news of Wrangel's death.

Mühlenberg's interest in the unfortunate Ebenezer (Ga.) congregation never ceased. Since the War of Independence all there was confusion. Triebner, as Dr. Urlsperger of Augsburg informed Mühlenberg, had delivered to the authorities in England * the most valuable legal documents affecting the finances of the congregation—an act of justice for which Mühlenberg willingly gave him credit. But the consequences of violent dissensions, with those arising from the disorders never absent in war-times, could not so soon be removed. Ra-

* The Rev. Dr. J. G. Burkhardt, pastor of the German Lutheran Savoy congregation (St. Mary's Church), London, in his *History of the German Congregations of London,* published 1798, relates that "a certain Mr. Triebner" arrived from Ebenezer, Ga., in London, and made the attempt to force himself as an assistant pastor upon the Savoy congregation, but was neither here nor afterward by Rev. Wachsel of St. George's congregation desired in that capacity. For some years he officiated successively in two chapels rented for this purpose. Of a book published by him in London with the title, *Valleys of Death at Ebenezer, or Anecdotes of Twenty-four Years in the Ministry,* Burkhardt says that it contains nothing of interest to the public.

benhorst's death and Triebner's flight left the people without a pastor. A number of other leading men had died or moved away. Mr. Treutlen—in whom Mühlenberg had placed much confidence, and who was a courageous adherent of the American cause—was obliged to leave Ebenezer; he moved to South Carolina, bought himself a plantation and house, was called to the door one night by five Tories, rudely dragged into a swamp, and there literally cut to pieces. For a time an unworthy subject—Fr. Gerresheim, who had left a wife living in Maryland and married another at Ebenezer—tried to palm himself off as pastor upon the congregation. The people, hearing of the prospect of one of Mühlenberg's sons (Fred. Augustus) coming as a pastor to their relief, rejoiced and went to work to repair Zion Church, but finally were disappointed in their hope. The condition was most discouraging. Mühlenberg made every effort to advise the members through correspondence, and in their behalf addressed letters to influential men in Ebenezer, Savannah, London, and Augsburg. Finally, in 1785, Rev. J. E. Bergmann arrived, well recommended, from Germany, and entered upon his pastoral duties. He was a man of good character, but very latitudinarian in his associations, fraternized with Methodists and Baptists, and opened the way to rapacious clerical representatives of various denominations. He unfortunately was averse to the introduction of the English language in the public services, though the spiritual interests of the younger generation demanded the change. The German has for many years ceased to be heard there; but when, in 1824, Bergmann died, the congregation had lost almost all the distinctive features of a Lutheran congregation, and could not in subsequent times regain them.

To receive letters from absent members of his family or from his former colaborers in pastoral and synodical work always proved to H. M. Mühlenberg a source of much comfort. The letters of his sons and daughters and of his sons-in-law are beautiful evidences of the high esteem and the tender filial love in which he was held. Those of his son Henry, after 1780 pastor of the Lancaster congregation,

show a most beautiful frankness, allowing the venerable father to see into his inner life: he speaks of the detail of his pastoral work, of his manner of preparing his sermons, of his encouraging and discouraging experiences, of the spiritual condition of his congregation. We know that the son, by inclination and talent devoted to the study of natural sciences, was considered an authority, especially in botany, and his name was held in the highest honor on both sides of the Atlantic; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that on this account he considered his clerical office a matter of secondary concern: the accounts he gives his father of his labors in his study and among his membership prove the reverse. We may here take occasion to allude to a certain element in the mental framework of the father which points in the direction of natural science. In his course of study he had paid some attention to the medical art, and never lost his interest in it. During the years of his retirement at Providence he was frequently requested to advise in various cases of sickness. He never pretended to be a professional physician, and always gave his advice gratuitously. It happened in a very serious case that two regular physicians requested his presence at their consultation. Whenever he speaks of cases of sickness where his advice was asked, he uses professional terms indicative of his information on the subject. As a proof of his sound sense also in such matters we quote a remark made in his diary when, in the autumn of 1784, he heard of the terrible sickness by which his son-in-law, Rev. Schulze, and his wife were prostrated at Tulpehoken; which remark calls forth an excusable smile. He was too weak to go to Tulpehoken, but he had his sick and suffering son and daughter constantly before his mind, wished to know the course of medical treatment, and, having learned of it, writes in his diary: "There is an old obnoxious German custom prevalent of keeping sick people smothering under heavy covers, and, so to say, almost immuring them in the sick chamber, making the stove red hot and preventing the entrance of fresh, wholesome air. Physicians of common sense will say that a mouth-

ful of fresh, wholesome air is worth to the sick man more than a tablespoonful of medicine." Truly, a man of such practical views deserved the confidence of the sick. Again referring to Rev. G. H. E. Mühlenberg of Lancaster, we are happy to state that the aged father's heart was a few months before the end of his life gladdened by the news that at the meeting of synod in June, 1787, his son was elected president.

CHAPTER XXX.

1776–1787.

Respect shown to their senior, Mühlenberg, by the Ministerium.—He is lovingly remembered at Halle.—Sebast. Andr. Fabricius.—Mühlenberg's last pastoral acts.—His last sickness and his death.—Respect shown to his memory throughout the Church.—Memorial sermons preached by Rev. Drs. Helmuth and Kunze.—Their delineation of Mühlenberg's personality and work.—His descendants.—His grave, and the inscription thereon.

THE members of the ministerium never ceased to show their senior, who no longer was able to be present with them at their annual conventions, unaffected deference and sincere love. Not only were the minutes sent to him, but his advice was asked in all matters of importance, and his services were employed as far as he could give them, as in the work of preparing the hymnbook. Helmuth informs him specially of certain changes made in that book and in the Liturgy. The proof-sheets are sent to him, and he is made to feel that the respectful attachment of the brethren and the value of his services are in no way diminished. To them his heart and his house are open, and visits of one or another of them were considered cheering occasions. Among them appeared also (Nov. 10, 1786) Rev. Hartwig, who had not yet changed his roving disposition. In the same year Mühlenberg received the last visit of Rev. Dr. Kunze and his family from New York. Rev. Voigt, who during those years served the Providence congregation, was expected at the house of Mühlenberg every Sunday on which he had services in the Augustus Church; and whenever, under pressure of engagements, Voigt failed to come, the failure was noted in the diary.

After the conclusion of the peace between America and the

mother-country, Mühlenberg received letters from Halle which clearly proved to him that there he was not forgotten, but was kept in sweet remembrance. Of course, the number of those with whom more than forty years before he had associated in Halle and other places, and who still lived, was a very small one. Among those who had served with Mühlenberg in the Halle institute was that good man Sebastian Andr. Fabricius, who in a letter dated March 19, 1785, informed him of the death of Rev. Dr. Freylinghausen—which had taken place Feb. 18, 1785—and assured him of the high esteem in which he had always been held by this venerable father. He very pleasantly reminds him of the honorable remembrance in which all the leading men connected with the Halle Orphan-House held him, and especially alludes to the fraternal intercourse they had enjoyed forty-three years before, when Mühlenberg, departing for Pennsylvania, was a guest at the Rev. Dr. Francke's house. Fabricius knew—perhaps better than any other man in Europe—of Mühlenberg's labors and hardships in America. A brother of John Philip Fabricius of the East India missions, he had been for many years private secretary to Rev. G. A. Francke, D. D., and later served as inspector of the Canstein Bible Society. Through his hands passed the correspondence of the East India and Pennsylvania missions, and to a large extent he prepared the material published in the *Halle Reports*. He always proved himself a warm-hearted, faithful friend of Mühlenberg and his family. When (Jan. 10, 1790) he departed this life his death was felt as a great loss by an extensive circle of friends.

It was an agreeable circumstance that during the last years of Mühlenberg's life a number of his children, with their families, lived in his neighborhood and could often come to visit the aged father. The families Swaine and Richards were in those years settled at New Hanover; Frederick Augustus, though frequently necessitated to be at Philadelphia, had his family at Providence; J. Peter Gabriel Mühlenberg, major-general U. S. A., had at various times to travel to Virginia and the West, but for a time was also sojourning quite near

to the paternal home or came from time to time as a visitor; Rev. Dr. Kunze of New York, whom official duties and the inconveniences of travelling prevented from making more frequent visits at Providence, did not omit in his correspondence to inform the venerable father of his experience in his new field of labor, of his literary work and publications, and of his views on the most recent inroads of Rationalism into theology. April 29, 1787, Mühlenberg and his wife for the last time had the pleasure of having all their children, save Mrs. Kunze, with them, and also a considerable number of grandchildren. When one of the latter—young Andrew Schulze of Tulpehoken—recited to the grandfather no less than six German hymns, the fact was entered in the diary. No less the quaint answer which one of the little ones gave to the grandfather's question: "With what sense do we become aware of the things around us." "With the tongue," said the boy; and grandfather thought there was considerable truth in it.

We know that Mühlenberg was at all times most welcome in the pulpit of the Philadelphia congregation. In 1779, and again in 1782 at the rededication of Zion Church, he preached there; we have discovered no proof that he preached there after this time. In the month of June, 1783, he was invited, during the absence of Kunze at the synodical meeting at York, Pa., to come to Philadelphia and assist Helmuth, but excused himself, saying that he was too feeble and could not leave his sick wife, but if, by stress of circumstances, it must be, they should send a light wagon and a strong horse and take him to Philadelphia "living or dead, whole or in pieces;" and added that he and his wife were best fitted for a hospital or a grave.

After retiring from Philadelphia he had performed pastoral services at New Hanover, where, in November, 1742, he had preached his first sermon in Pennsylvania. His regular services there came to an end in 1780, though he yet assisted in the following year in that place. He could not avoid on certain occasions in later years doing pastoral services at Providence. His last sermon he preached there Sept. 26, 1784. The increasing swelling of his feet made walking very difficult

for him—he had to be assisted in ascending the pulpit—and the frequent spells of giddiness to which he was exposed embarrassed him greatly. In rare cases he delivered funeral addresses, sometimes performed marriage ceremonies at his house, and baptized children who were brought to him. Increasing physical weakness prevented outdoor exercise and exposure during his latter years. He left Providence the last time July 9, 1787, when his children sent a wagon from New Hanover, and for a few days had father and mother with them. It proved a great exertion to the enfeebled parents. As for years Mrs. Mühlenberg was prevented by her nervous disorders from worshipping with the congregation, and he for the last few years of his pilgrimage on earth was unable to walk to the church, about a quarter of a mile distant from his house, he held special services every Sunday at his private dwelling with his family.

Calling to our remembrance all the excessive hardships which Mühlenberg had endured in his pastoral and missionary labors in a country where bridges rarely spanned the rivers and creeks, the roads during a large part of the year were almost impassable, and the traveller was frequently exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather without being able in proper season to find shelter and comfortable lodgings, we cannot wonder that the energies of nature became exhausted in one who never placed pleasure above duty. We add to all these disadvantages the severe claims continually laid upon his mind and his soul. We are not surprised that the body was almost prematurely exhausted, but we are astonished to learn that to the very end his intellect retained its wonted vigor and freshness. During the last years of his life Mühlenberg keenly felt his inability to move about and to labor in the service of his Master, which to him was the life and the light of his soul. Here and there in his diary he speaks of himself as a *pondus inutile terræ*. Others never viewed his advanced age in such a manner. God found it best before his end to lead him through a school of suffering to perfect and consummate in his servant the regenerating

work of his Holy Spirit. And we rejoice in stating that in all his writings, diaries, and correspondence we never discover any traces of an abnormal, morbid disposition of mind, of discontent, or of murmuring against the ways of the Father in heaven.

Saturday, Sept. 29, 1787, Mühlenberg entered the last item in his diary. In the habit of making a record of the events of each day of his life he continued conscientiously even during the years of his infirmity, though toward the end we observe that to write was a difficult task for his trembling hand. But we are thankful that even then he indicated with a few short, telling words the condition of his mind and stated facts which nowhere else are preserved to posterity. It deserves to be mentioned that he took the greatest care to put his house in order also as to external things.* All his ac-

* The historiographer of Providence, F. G. Hobson, Esq., published the last will of Mühlenberg, and we enter here some of his sentences: "In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, of late minister of the German Lutheran congregations in the city of Philadelphia and townships of New Providence and New Hanover, in the State of Pennsylvania, being old and weak in body, but of sound understanding and memory—thanks be to God my Saviour!—do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament: that is to say, first of all I deliver my soul unto Almighty God, my Lord and Saviour, who gave and redeemed the same, and my body I recommend to the earth, to be buried as time and circumstances may allow, nothing doubting but at the general resurrection I shall receive the same again by the mighty power of God. And as touching my little worldly estate, I give, devise, and dispose of the same in the following manner and form, viz.: 1. I give and bequeath unto Ann Mary, my beloved wife, during her widowhood and life, all my real and personal estate; that is to say, the piece in New Providence township, where we live upon, containing seven acres of ground, be the same more or less, together with all and singular the buildings and appurtenances; a land containing ten acres of ground, be the same more or less; moreover a lot near the German Lutheran church at New Providence, containing three acres of ground, be the same more or less, with some apple trees and the property of one-half of a draw-well upon the line between mine and Mr. Bateman's lots, and whatsoever my beloved wife Ann Mary has a right unto in part of her deceased father Conrad Weiser's real and personal estate in Reading, Shamokin, and wheresoever, together with all and singular my personal estate, unto her own possession and use during her widowhood and life, upon the following conditions," etc. We find, also, the following: "Mine hereafter constituted Executrix and Executors shall be pleased to sort my Manuscripts, Writings, and Journals, and whatever belongs to the Rev. Synod of the United German Lutheran Ministry or to the Attorneys of the Legacy

counts were in the most perfect order, and he had stated in writing where documents of value to the family might be found after his decease.

The condition of Mühlenberg during the year 1787 was frequently exceedingly painful. To dropsy, the premonitory symptoms of which had shown themselves years before, were added various concomitant ailments which medical skill could hardly alleviate, never remove. Eight days before his entering into eternal rest he seemed to improve somewhat, and exhibited the full vigor of his mind. Voigt, who had come to see him, expressed his joy at the sight of such cheering symptoms, but the aged father, fully realizing his condition, told Voigt when he said "Farewell" that they were not likely to meet again in this world, and recited a verse of a hymn of Martin Boehme (*Kirchenbuch*, No. 558) which he used to quote in days of health:

> "A heavy road before me lies
> Up to the heavn'ly paradise;
> My lasting home is there with Thee,
> Bought with thy life-blood once for me."

In this diagnosis of the state of his health he was not mistaken. Alarming symptoms were noticed on the following day, and continued in spite of all medical applications. Day and night he suffered intense pain; no slumber came to his eyes and he could breathe only with great difficulty. The partner of his life and almost all his children were around him in great distress. From time to time words full of faith and love fell from his lips and encouraged them. He placed before his spiritual eye his blessed Saviour suffering for him on the cross, and to Him he sent his sighs. It was a remark-

or to the Right Rev. Directors at Halle in Saxony, or to any individual—as, for instance, Documents, Accounts, Receipts, Testimonies, and such like—in order to deliver them to such persons or person as have a just right to ask for or receive the same. The rest of my writings and correspondence may be preserved for some time, in case one or another important question should arise which thereby should be decided and answered solely." He appoints his wife and his sons (by a special codicil Peter Mühlenberg among them) his executors. The document is dated June 12, 1782, and revokes all and every other will formerly made by him.

able phenomenon that shortly before his end his hearing returned. On Saturday evening, his strength being exhausted, he apparently entered into the valley of the shadow of death, yet his mind was perfectly clear. He expected to die at midnight, and inquired whether it were not yet twelve o'clock. At his request two of his children took him to bed. There reclining, he recited the last verse of Paul Gerhard's immortal hymn, *Befiehl du deine Wege*, etc.:

"Haste, Lord, to end our sorrow,
Our feeble hands support;
Each day and each to-morrow
Be thou our soul's resort.
May we to thy great mercy
Till death commended be,
Then shall our earthly footsteps
Us safely lead to thee."

Having finished this verse, he once more took a deep breath, and then quietly fell asleep in Jesus. The spirit of the venerable patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America had taken flight from the Church militant to the Church triumphant. The faithful servant had entered into the joy of his Lord. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg breathed his last between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday morning, Oct. 7, 1787, at the age of seventy-six years and thirty-one days. It was verified by his death: "It shall come to pass that at evening-time it shall be light" (Zach. xiii. 7).

The news of the death of the aged and venerable father, whose name and fame were in all the Lutheran congregations throughout the land and in many others, spread from Providence as rapidly as the means of communication in those days allowed, and everywhere called forth deep sympathy and sorrow. The vestry of the German Lutheran congregation at Philadelphia, thinking that they had particular claims in this sad case, and intending to do all possible honor to the memory of their beloved spiritual father, at once sent two delegates to the bereaved family in behalf of the congregation to request that the mortal remains of the deceased might be conveyed to

Philadelphia and there be given a resting-place in Zion Church, in the pulpit of which he so often had stood before thousands and raised his voice as a witness of God's word. The family, fully appreciating the most honorable proposition of the Philadelphia vestry, preferred to have the head of the house rest in Providence at the side of the Augustus Church, where already some of the children whom God had called to himself in early years had found their resting-place. The funeral took place Wednesday, Oct. 10th, and was attended by an immense concourse of people. Of ministers of the Lutheran Church, besides Rev. G. H. E. Mühlenberg, D. D., of Lancaster, there were present Rev. Messrs. Voigt, Schulze, Dr. Helmuth, Van Buskirk, Wildbahn, Roeller, and Lehman. Rev. M. Schlatter, of the Reformed Church, had also come to show his love and esteem for his old friend on this mournful occasion. From Philadelphia and from localities far and near a large number of friends had arrived to participate in the obsequies. At the family mansion Dr. Helmuth offered prayer. The Augustus Church being entirely too small to hold all the multitude present, Rev. Voigt, after the mortal remains had been deposited in the grave on the east side of the church, delivered an address under the open sky on the words of Ps. xv. 1, 2: "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly and worketh righteousness and speaketh the truth in his heart."

Many manifestations of respect and sympathy testified to the high veneration entertained for H. M. Mühlenberg within the Lutheran Church and beyond its limits. Throughout the whole Church there was a decided and sincere feeling that a mighty one in Israel had fallen—that the congregations had lost one who in the providence of God had fulfilled a great mission and had for a long time stood high among them as a spiritual father and a most excellent adviser. In most of the churches services commemorative of the venerated father were held at his departure. The congregation at Lancaster ordered their church-bells to be tolled with muffled tongues on the day of the funeral. The churches

there, at Philadelphia, and at New York were also draped in mourning; the officers of the congregations wore the emblems of mourning. Even in some Reformed churches the ministers took occasion specially to testify to the noble qualities and the Christian bearing of H. M. Mühlenberg.

Of the sermons preached in commemoration of his death, two have come down to posterity. Both are on the same text (2 Kings ii. 12): "And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof! And he saw him no more; and he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in two pieces."

One of these two sermons was delivered in Zion Church, Philadelphia, Oct. 21, 1787, by Rev. J. H. Chr. Helmuth, whose theme was, "The lamentation which is allowed upon the departure of faithful servants of God." He first treats of the qualities of such servants, showing that they not only are called to the responsible office, but faithfully execute its important duties. As such a one he describes Elijah, and with him compares Mühlenberg. As Elijah was sent to the Israelites, who after separating themselves from the mother-Church at Jerusalem had established services of their own defiled by pagan abominations, so was Mühlenberg sent by Providence to the Lutheran congregations in this country when cut off from the mother-Church beyond the sea, destitute of the proper administration of the gospel, and often misled by men not properly called to the pastoral office nor qualified for it. As Elijah had to go and seek the lost sheep of the house of Israel, tell them of the true God, and establish his proper service, so Mühlenberg had to gather into congregations the Lutherans dispersed over a large territory, bring them into proper order, preach to them the counsel of salvation, and establish divine service for them. As Elijah no doubt had his eye on the schools of the prophets mentioned in his times to preserve in this way for future generations the sound doctrine and the true service of the living God, so Mühlenberg never ceased to care for the Christian education of the young, and to provide as much as was in his power for the

continuance and extent of the preaching of the word of God. As Elijah apparently stood alone in his time in resisting the encroaching spiritual destruction, so Mühlenberg was obliged in his days to carry alone the heavy burden of the office; but, like Elijah, he was faithful to his trust, and of this his whole life bears ample evidence. Helmuth then proceeded to speak of the departure of teachers having the character of Elijah as an exceedingly heavy loss to the Israelites, but a glorious testimony of God in his behalf and a triumph; and then very feelingly spoke of the final years and days of Mühlenberg's life, of his being well prepared for his removal, and of his peaceful end and his eternal reward in heaven. At last the speaker refers to the lament of Elisha upon the departure of his beloved spiritual father, and to the universal lamentation throughout the Church, the congregations, and all the membership for him who had indeed been a spiritual father to them, whose influence, under God's blessing, had been in the highest degree beneficial, and the remembrance of whom is such as to awaken the strongest feelings of gratitude on the part of all those who by his agency were led to Jesus.

Helmuth's sermon delivered on that mournful occasion was requested for publication by a number of members of the congregation. There are added to it also a short biographical sketch of the departed, which contains the most important events of his life, and a number of poetical compositions which strongly testify to the high veneration in which the aged father was held.

The other of the two sermons above alluded to was preached on the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, 1787, in the Church of the Holy Trinity at New York by the Rev. J. Chr. Kunze, D.D., son-in-law of Mühlenberg, on the theme, "The sorrowful wail of Elisha after the departure of Elijah, the man of God, whom he loved." This sermon is dedicated to the "Fathers" in Halle and to other friends in Germany and in England, to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" in London, to the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent States, to the vestry and the

members of St. Michael and Zion congregations at Philadelphia, of Trinity congregation at New York, and to the bereaved widow and children of the departed, who are all mentioned by name. In this way Dr. Kunze gathers a remarkable assembly around the mortal remains of the beloved father whose memory he desires to honor. More elaborately than Dr. Helmuth he undertakes to delineate the character and the whole being of the eminent man with whom near relationship connected him, and whose colaborer in the pastoral work he had been for fourteen years. He begins his sermon by describing the peculiar position which in those times of political and religious confusion and deterioration Elijah maintained in Israel. There the prophet in his holy zeal proved a power and stemmed the tide of idolatry which had broken in upon the people of God. To Elijah, and to the large number of those who came under his influence and saw in him the noble type of the true servant of God, he proved a spiritual father. Thence the sad wail of Elisha when he saw himself deprived of a father and the people of one who in himself was a host, a mighty power. And now the speaker beautifully applies the words of his text to him whom he mourns and whom thousands mourn with him. With the many who, like himself, had enjoyed intimate intercourse with the departed, received instruction and advice from him, profited by his rich experience, and were encouraged by his example, he deplored his loss as one whom they honored and loved as their spiritual father. The same, he continued, was the case with that large number of congregations whom Mühlenberg had gathered, assisted, saved from utter destruction, encouraged, organized, and most faithfully served. Looking at the wide field over which the services of the deceased had extended, the Lutheran Church of this country as a whole had cause to lament the loss of one who had indeed been a father to her in the best sense of the term. All this was sufficient proof that he was indeed a spiritual power among all the congregations, and that all the members of the Church, and many outside of her limits, deeply and mournfully felt

that the death of Mühlenberg was a universal calamity, and that a mighty man in Israel had fallen. Entering then upon a more minute delineation of the personality, the intellectual endowments, the religious and moral character of Mühlenberg, he says that the secret of his whole being, life, work, and success was a beautiful blending of natural gifts with those of divine grace. Of the natural gifts he mentions a robust body and vigorous health, which alone enabled him for so many years and in trying circumstances to carry all the burden laid upon him, and to continue to have at heart until two years before his peaceful end the great concerns of the Church after he could no longer perform the regular duties of the pastor. On account of the vivacity of his intellect, which surprised all who came into contact with him, Kunze calls him the Luther of America, and says that this very quality, connected with much good-nature, made intercourse with Mühlenberg so attractive; nor had he ever met anybody who in conversation with all sorts of people had shown more consideration, more good-will toward others, and had been more entertaining. Auxiliaries to this happy faculty were good-humor, unaffected wit, a most retentive memory, and a penetrating judgment. Mühlenberg's solid and comprehensive erudition, Kunze confesses, far surpassed what he had expected to find. He says that he had more accurately mastered the ancient languages than had many a scholar, was an adept in theology, mental philosophy, and medical science, and in proclaiming the word of God was able to use not only the German language—which he handled with peculiar originality and force—but also the English, French, Dutch, Bohemian, and had also some knowledge of the Swedish. All these excellent qualities and abilities were under the sanctifying and controlling influence of grace and of the Spirit from on High. Mühlenberg not only preached of conversion, but he was a converted man, and out of the experience of heart and life he testified to the power of the Spirit. And his whole personality, walk, and conversation was full of the fruits of the Spirit. He was of a rare humil-

ity, and his humble opinion of himself sometimes moved him to bestow rather too freely upon others honors which he never took for himself. Without being artful, he was in his intercourse with others eminently prudent. This gained for him their confidence, and thus gave them the benefit of his advice; and by his prudence he escaped snares which were laid for him under various pretexts. In him there was no selfishness. His disinterestedness and his liberality rested on the firm conviction that God would never forsake him and those belonging to him, for whom he could not gather earthly riches. Dr. Kunze also speaks of his readiness to forgive and to be reconciled with those who had become embittered against him. His self-possessed manners and his unaffected kindness often disarmed his enemies and converted them into friends. While he was very mild and tender of heart, he was firm and unbending in his convictions and principles, and would not spare those who, in spite of his warnings, continued to disturb the peace and to bring about disorder. There was in him the spirit of prayer, and all those who heard him pray felt his nearness to God. Conjoined to all these noble qualities was a purity of life which even his bitterest enemies never could successfully assail. We add that most malicious attacks against his character were made during his earlier years in America, but ended in the discomfiture of those who hated him because they hated the truth which he preached.

Dr. Kunze, who does not forget to allude to Mühlenberg's conservative position as a Lutheran—which, though not aggressive or polemical, distinguishes him from the succeeding generation—arrives at the proper conclusion, that all this mental framework eminently qualified Mühlenberg for the great mission of his life. He says all the supervision of an exclusive diocese which an ecclesiastical dignitary of high standing in Europe might exercise would never amount to the work which Mühlenberg had to perform here, and which, indeed, entitled him to the name of a father of the Lutheran Church in America. He never ceased to labor in the Lord's

vineyard, being indefatigable in preaching—and this in a most attractive manner—in teaching the young, in watching over the soundness of doctrine, in his willingness to suffer most distressing losses and to bear the cross which God in various ways had laid upon him. Kunze also speaks of the wisdom the venerable father had ever exhibited concerning the political disturbances and parties of his time, and says that he never allowed any except his most intimate friends to know his views on political subjects.

There can be no doubt that on that solemn occasion Dr. Kunze spoke out of the fulness of his heart. He was perfectly qualified to appreciate the intellect and the heart, the life-work and the character, of one with whom he had been connected in so intimate a relation. And he has not said one word too much. Mühlenberg was indeed a man of uncommon mind, character, and work. Our readers will judge for themselves. In accompanying him through the course of his life we cannot but receive the impression that we have before us a man of unusual gifts, and that by them he was eminently fitted for an extraordinary work, the great practical task, the mission of his life, which Providence had entrusted to him. Among the people he had grown up. A man of the people, a popular man in the very best sense of the term, he was; and this he had to be amid the crude material which he was obliged to mould. But, popular as he was, there was no one who in his presence did not feel that, like Saul, though in a different sense, Mühlenberg "from his shoulders and upward was higher than any of the people" (1 Sam. ix. 2). About him there was a dignity which could not but most favorably impress even those who, as to social or official position, were far above him, but in all essentials found him their equal, and in many and weighty matters better than themselves.

One of the peculiar talents of Mühlenberg was his organizing faculty. He believed in proper order as the *conditio sine qua non* of all human relations, and especially in all spheres of public duty. In most places in the American provinces he found the Lutherans in a deplorable state of con-

fusion, but he properly organized them into congregations, and as far as was in his power gave them a solid doctrinal and constitutional basis; and in this way he secured for them a healthful progress. He knew that in every congregation various forces and interests can easily come into conflict, but he strove to balance the diverse elements and to give their respective dues to the conservative and the progressive demands, at the same time most firmly guarding against changes of the doctrines of the Church. If in subsequent times neological and extraneous influences began to alter that basis and to undermine the unity of the Lutheran Church in this country, no one could justly claim H. M. Mühlenberg as an advocate of new and extravagant measures in matters of doctrine and practice. A proof of his clear understanding of the value of social order is seen also in the organization of the first Lutheran synod on this continent, and in the order of service adopted in behalf of the congregations even before the synod was organized.

That sense of order which in all relations guided Mühlenberg is observable also in his private life. To this his diaries, regularly kept until the end of his days, testify, and especially the long columns of accounts referring to the finances of his congregations, to the various trusts under his hand, or to his own family. Everything is found in its proper place, and at any time could he give a good account of his stewardship even in minute detail. He was no lawyer, but the legal forms needed for documents referring to the rights and the obligations of congregations, and of individuals necessarily connected with them, he had learned through experience, and knew how to make good use of them in his pastoral relations.

It deserves to be mentioned that Mühlenberg's German style was eminently plain, perspicuous, and vigorous. He was a contemporary of Count Zinzendorf, the difference of their age amounting to no more than eleven years. Both these men—who during their life-work met and came into conflict on the same field of labor—give opportunity for

interesting comparison. In respect to German style the preference is most decidedly on the side of Mühlenberg. His German is remarkably pure and easy-flowing, while Zinzendorf's prose teems with expressions borrowed from the French, and proves that he accommodated himself to the abominable practice of a perverse taste prevailing in German literature in the times following the Thirty Years' War and antecedent to Klopstock, Gellert, Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe. Mühlenberg's style reflects the sound naturalness of his whole being, the clearness of his whole mind, the strength of his common sense, and the manliness of his personality. And in this connection even his handwriting dare not be left out of sight. It is characteristic of the man. His firmness and the decisive manner of his demeanor were strongly expressed in those bold strokes of the pen in his hand, and there is not the least difficulty in reading all the extensive volumes of manuscript left by him as a valuable historical legacy to future generations.

Artistic representations of H. M. Mühlenberg's face and features which have come down to us undeniably correspond with his mental framework and character. There is a winning openness in the face; the forehead, remarkably large, seems to be the field of operation for an active, clear, comprehensive, but peaceful mind; a strong portion of good common sense looks out through these eyes into the world; while as a whole the face indicates much natural kindness and unaffected affability, not interfering with a certain humor playing around the mouth and a positive decision and energy expressed by a well-developed nose. This face, beaming forth from a full and well-fashioned wig, bespeaks a dignity becoming the official character of the man. It also at once introduces us to a person of thoroughgoing intellectual culture and refinement.

It is proper to state that H. M. Mühlenberg's descendants on the male and female sides form already such an extensive circle that we were compelled to give up the attempt to furnish our readers with a genealogical tree rooting in the venerable ancestor and rising up and branching out in all directions

before and during our times. We had occasion to refer to a number of eminent descendants on the male side by whom the name of Mühlenberg (frequently Muhlenberg) seems to be secured for many generations to come. We also mentioned the Schulzes, Richardses, and Swaines, descendants of daughters of the reverend father in Pennsylvania and beyond it, branching out into numerous families. We have yet to allude to the descendants of the Rev. Dr. Kunze, whose wife was a daughter of the venerable patriarch of the family and the Church. Kunze's only son, a doctor of medicine, died before his parents, but the daughters left a large progeny socially occupying a high standing. One of them married Casper Meyer, the founder of the mercantile house of Oelrichs & Co. of New York. Gustavus Schwab, Esq., who is a son of the German poet of this name and now the head of the above firm, is married to a granddaughter of Mr. Meyer, who is consequently a great-granddaughter of Rev. Dr. Kunze. A second daughter married a Mr. Oakley, and a third one Mr. Jacob Lorillard, dealer in leather, the founder of the family of that name well known for its commercial activity and wealth. But, extensive as is the range of these descendants, stretching from Maryland to Massachusetts and toward the West as far as California, only a part of them retain their connection with the Church to the service of which the venerable patriarch had devoted his life.

We regretted to find, when some years ago visiting the Orphan-House at Halle, that Mühlenberg's name had fallen into oblivion. Even at Eimbeck, his native place, no monument, no tablet, recalls to citizens or strangers the name of one of her most eminent sons. Nor in America does any monument erected to the memory of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg remind future generations of the honor and gratitude in which he is held in the Lutheran Church of this country. His grave at Providence alongside of Augustus Church—erected, like many others, through his influence and labors—is covered with a large slab of white marble. There rest his mortal remains and those of the faithful

partner of his life, who after long, patiently-endured suffering followed him (Aug. 3, 1802) to the mansions in the Father's house. There is added to his name and the date of his birth and death the inscription, "Who and what he was future times will know without a monument of stone." May our book contribute its share to verify that inscription!

"BY FAITH HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH" (Heb. xi. 4).

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